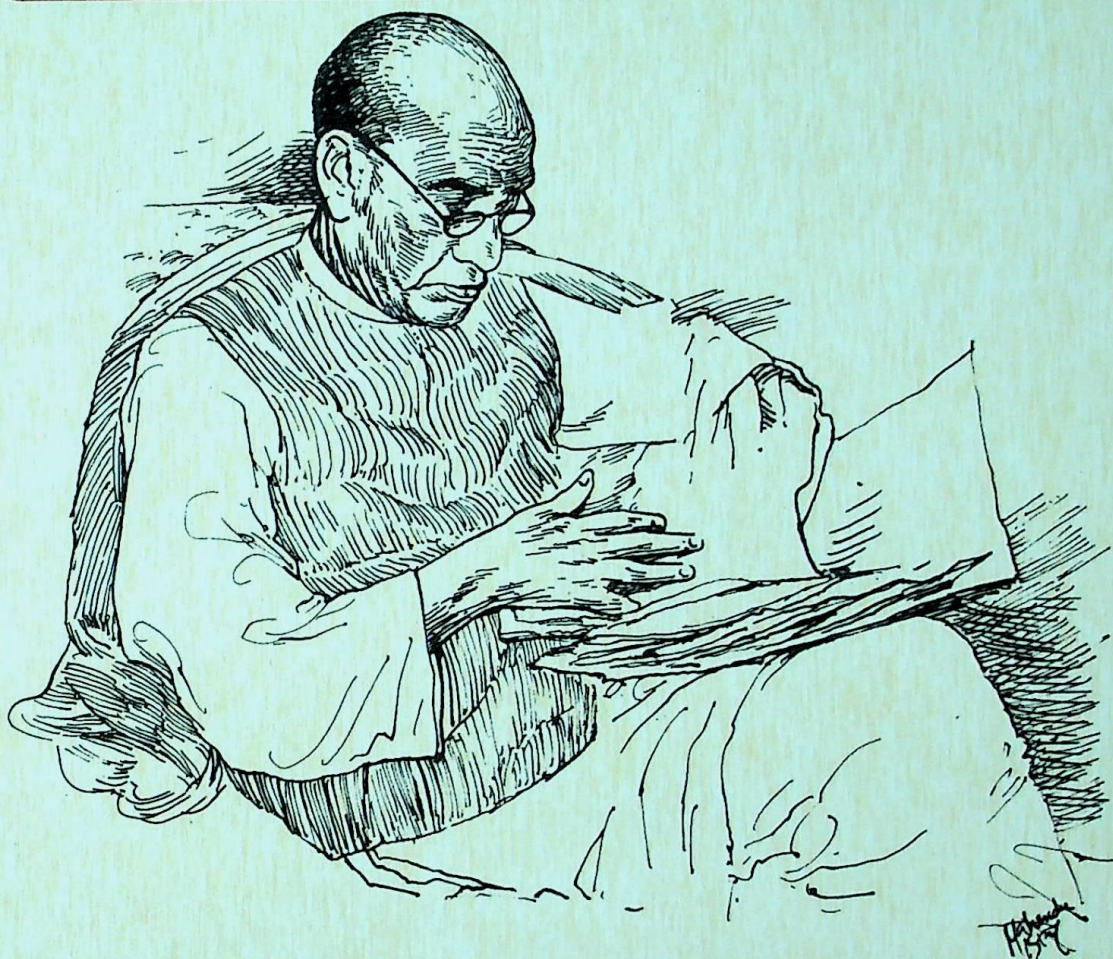


VOLUME

5

- *Control over Congress Ministries*
- *Indian States' Accession*



SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE

• 1945 – 1950 •

EDITED BY DURGA DAS

Creating conditions for stable government and maintaining law and order in the old provinces of British India after the disruption of partition was a major problem which was Sardar Patel's prime responsibility as Minister of Home Affairs. Relations between governors and chief ministers had to be redefined in the changed political context, and the Sardar was often called upon to mediate in disputes resulting from conflicting interpretations of rules and practices by those in authority.

Problems also arose from the emergence of factionalism in the provincial Congress organisations, and the Sardar had to exert his authority to prevent them from cracking up in the heat of local power struggles. The most notable instance was in Madras, where two rival factions were engaged in a bitter struggle which resulted in the ouster of Chief Minister T. Prakasam.

Rehabilitation of Hindu and Sikh refugees from West Pakistan was the key problem encountered in East Punjab, together with the intransigence of Master Tara Singh and the Akali Dal. In Assam, large-scale infiltration of Muslims created difficulties for the provincial administration in the wake of the loss of Sylhet district to Pakistan.

Bringing the conglomeration of Princely States within the ambit of the new integrated nation-state also presented many problems. In a letter on 26 August 1947, the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, informed the Sardar of his decision to join the Indian Union and wrote: "Now that I have conceded defeat I hope that you will find that I can be as staunch a friend as I have been an inveterate opponent." In his reply the Sardar wrote: "Quite candidly, I do not look upon the accession of your state... as either a victory for us or a defeat for you. It is only right and propriety which have triumphed in the end, and in that triumph you and I have played our respective roles."

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SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE
1945-50

THE JAMMU & KASHMIR
GOVERNMENT
1913-14



SARDAR PATEL ADDRESSING A MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF EASTERN PUNJAB CONVENED BY THE MINISTRY OF STATES IN SEPTEMBER 1947 TO CONSIDER PROBLEMS CONNECTED WITH EVACUATION OF POPULATION FROM WEST PUNJAB. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT : H. R. SHARMA, FOREIGN MINISTER, PATIALA; MAHARAJA OF PATIALA; GENERAL RUSSELL; MAJ-GEN. CARIAPPA, ON SARDAR'S LEFT IS V. P. MENON, SECRETARY, MINISTRY OF STATES

SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE 1945-50

VOLUME V

CONTROL OVER CONGRESS MINISTRIES—INDIAN STATES' ACCESSION



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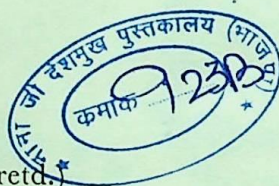


NAVAJIVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE
AHMEDABAD 380014

First Edition, 5,000 Copies, March 1973

© The Navajivan Trust, 1973

Rupees Four Thousand
For the set of ten volumes
ISBN 978-81-7229-666-7 (SET)



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Sardar Patel addressing a meeting of representatives of Eastern Punjab convened by the Ministry of States in September 1947 to consider problems connected with evacuation of population from West Punjab. From left to right: H. R. Sharma, Foreign Minister, Patiala; Maharaja of Patiala; General Russell; Maj-Gen. Cariappa. On Sardar's left is V. P. Menon, Secretary, Ministry of States

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FOREWORD

The correspondence of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in ten volumes, covers a crucial period in India's history: 1 October 1945 to 13 December 1950, two days before his death in Bombay.

The letters and annexures consist of exchanges between Sardar Patel on the one hand and Lord Wavell, Lord Mountbatten, Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, C. Rajagopalachari, rulers of Princely States, Premiers of Congress Ministries and scores of Congressmen belonging to the party rank and file, on the other. These relate to various matters which arose in the domestic, international, constitutional, administrative and economic spheres in this period and thus constitute valuable source material of history. They were in the custody of Miss Maniben Patel, the Sardar's daughter, and were deposited by her with the Navajivan Trust in Ahmedabad after his death.

The Trust arranged, under her direction and supervision, to have them typed in Ahmedabad and send the copies to me for editing and compilation. The volumes are thus based on authentic copies of the correspondence deposited with the Trust.

Explaining the time-lag in releasing the correspondence, Maniben said in a long talk she had with me in New Delhi in late 1970 that she had held it back until she was certain that its publication would not be harmful to the nation for which her father had laboured and suffered so much. The letters contain matter relating to affairs of State and party organisation whose untimely disclosure might have embarrassed the Government or the political leaders of the day.

Since, however, some of the correspondence in the possession of other parties and relating to isolated events had been made public, she decided that the time had come to release the correspondence to give a balanced picture of the events to which they relate or of the Sardar's views. "I have been late," she said, "but not too late."

The Navajivan Trust, she added, had agreed to publish the correspondence and thus made it possible for the people of India and the world outside to have access to this valuable material which throws new light on the momentous developments

of the period covered by these papers and the calculations made by the leading personalities of the day in shaping the course of history.

The significance of the correspondence lies in the light it sheds on the main characters on the Indian stage as they acted and reacted to the challenges of the time and to the problems posed by their differing approach and outlook. There is indeed hardly a national or regional issue of consequence in contemporary history the origin of which cannot be traced to the five crucial years.

Vallabhbhai Patel emerges from the correspondence as a great organiser and consolidator of modern India. Over 70 when he assumed ministerial office for the first time, he carried on his ailing shoulders the crushing burden of building the political infrastructure of the new India. Death prevented him from completing his task, but what he achieved in five short years endures.

These volumes are the bones and sinews of Indian history of a crucial period. To the scholar and researcher, they offer a treasure of source material. To the politician, they should serve as a guide. To the citizen, they provide inspiration.

Arrangements are in chronological order and not by topic. But the letters have been grouped thematically to retain interrelation of events and negotiations. Correspondence of a routine nature has been omitted and a few excisions have been made out of regard for the susceptibilities of the persons concerned. Such excisions are indicated by dots.

Where an extract or extracts from a letter are published, this is indicated by the word 'Extracts' at the top of the letter. The omissions have been effected by the persons entrusted by Maniben Patel and the Navajivan Trust with selecting the material for publication.

In several instances, letters, enclosures and other documents referred to in the published correspondence are not to be found in these volumes. It is hoped that future researchers will be able to fill these gaps.

The yardstick which the Sardar applied to public life and to political and socio-economic issues was forgotten or ignored by his successors with consequences which became apparent in the confused state of politics in the 1960s. India has again entered the most crucial period in the evolution of its polity. The stand taken by the Sardar on various issues and his vision of the road which India should take have acquired a new relevance.

Each volume of the series contains an outline of the contents of the other nine volumes in the form of a summary of the main features. This should help researchers ascertain at a glance what the whole series contains. The details of arrangements for selection and presentation of the correspondence were explained in the Foreword to the first volume, and are not therefore recapitulated here. The feature "Focus on Sardar" giving the views of Maniben Patel and the "Chronology of Principal Events in Sardar's Life" given in Volume I are retained in this volume and will be reproduced in succeeding volumes.

We owe a word of gratitude to the Sardar's daughter, Kumari Maniben Patel. After the Sardar's death, she preserved these papers with great care and readily agreed to their publication. Not only this, she had a hand in the meticulous scrutiny and compilation of these papers. By her efforts the authenticity of these records has been vouchsafed and the Navajivan Trust has been able to publish them with a sense of redeeming a part of its debt to the Sardar.

Since, in the line of duty I witnessed, chronicled, and even participated in many of the events of this stirring period, I was approached by the Trustees to undertake the arduous task of editing the voluminous correspondence. My colleagues have helped to process this vast accumulation of material with professional skill, arrange it thematically and make it meaningful to the average reader. For me and them it has been a labour of love. We also thank our aides, the staff of the Navajivan Trust who assisted in bringing this massive undertaking to a successful close.

2, Tolstoy Lane
New Delhi 11001
23 November 1972

DURGA DAS

The first of these is the fact that the British Government has been unable to secure the co-operation of the Indian Government in the matter of the Indian Navy. The second is the fact that the British Government has been unable to secure the co-operation of the Indian Government in the matter of the Indian Air Force. The third is the fact that the British Government has been unable to secure the co-operation of the Indian Government in the matter of the Indian Army.

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CHRONOLOGY OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS IN SARDAR'S LIFE

- 1875 Born on 31 October at Nadiad, Kaira district, Gujarat. Fourth son of Jhaverbhai Patel, a farmer of Karamsad in the same district, and Ladbai. Belonged to agricultural caste known as Leuva Patidar. Schooling up to English third standard at Karamsad.
- 1891 English 4th and 5th standards at Petlad, a small town seven miles from Karamsad. Lived in a rented room with four or five other boys, with seven days' ration. Walked from Karamsad to Petlad every week.
- 1893 At the age of 18 married Jhaverba of Gana, a small village three miles from Karamsad.
- 1897 Matriculated from a high school in Nadiad, Kaira district, at 22.
- 1900 Passed District Pleaders' Examination. Studied with books borrowed from friends. Set up independent practice at Godhra, headquarters of Panchmahals district, Gujarat. Contracted bubonic plague from a court nazir whom he nursed when an epidemic broke out in Godhra.
- 1902 Shifted practice to Borsad, where he quickly made a name as a criminal lawyer.
- 1905 Saved enough money to go to England to become a barrister, but postponed departure in deference to the wishes of his elder brother Vithalbhai, who came to know about his plan and wished to go first. Looked after his brother's wife while he was away.
- 1909 Wife Jhaverba died after an operation in Bombay. Received a telegram containing news of her death while arguing a murder case in Borsad, but continued case until hearing was completed. In spite of pressure from friends and relations, refused to marry again.
- 1910 Left for England. Admitted to Middle Temple.
- 1911 Passed preliminary examination with honours, standing first in Equity. Fell ill with a tropical disease unknown in England. Doctors wanted to amputate his leg, but a German

doctor intervened and cured him through an operation which he underwent without chloroform.

- 1912 Took final examination after sixth term instead of usual 12. Stood first in first class, winning a prize of £50 and exemption from two terms. Sailed for India the day after convocation.
- 1913 Reached Bombay on 13 February. Refused post in Judicial Department as a lecturer in Government Law School, Bombay, and left for Ahmedabad, where he established himself as foremost criminal lawyer.
- 1915 Member, Gujarat Sabha, which was converted into Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee in 1919.
- 1917 Elected member of Ahmedabad Municipal Board. Election challenged and set aside. Stood in a by-election and was returned unopposed. Mahatma Gandhi, president of the first Gujarat Provincial Conference, appointed an executive committee with Patel as secretary. Impressed by Gandhi's leadership of the agitation against the British indigo planters of Champaran, Bihar.

Conducted agitation against begar (forced labour for Government purposes). Led agitation against the appointment of a British member of the Indian Civil Service as Municipal Commissioner and secured his removal.

As Chairman of the Sanitary and Public Works Committee of Ahmedabad Municipality, stayed on in city when most of the citizens went away during an epidemic of plague. Took a leading role in helping sufferers and enforcing precautionary measures.

- 1918 Organised famine relief work in Ahmedabad district. Represented textile mill labour with Gandhi and Shankarlal Banker before a tribunal appointed to hear a dispute between labour and millowners.
- Put up a temporary hospital in city with grant from Municipal Board to Gujarat Sabha to combat severe influenza epidemic. Organised no-tax campaign in Kaira district along with Gandhi. During campaign Gandhi said he was testing Patel, adding later that Patel had turned out to be "pure gold."
- Helped Gandhi in recruitment drive for British Indian Army. They used to walk together for miles and cooked their own food.

- 1919 Chairman, Managing Committee, Ahmedabad Municipal Board.

Organised movement against Rowlatt Bills designed to strangle movement for self-rule. Led big demonstration march in Ahmedabad on 6 April and addressed public meeting against bills. Sold publicly Gandhi's proscribed books *Hind Swaraj* and *Sarvodaya*, and published *Satyagraha Patrika* in Gujarati without official declaration or permission. Government took no action.

Helped local authorities restore peace and order after large-scale disturbances leading to martial law in Ahmedabad after arrest of Gandhi.

Served with a show-cause notice for cancellation of his sanad (permit to practise law) for participating in a public meeting advocating satyagraha. Case ended with a warning. Refused to pay fine imposed by Government as penalty for riots in city. Sofa attached and auctioned for Rs. 100.

- 1920 Organised campaign of Congress Party in elections to Ahmedabad Municipal Board. Congress captured almost all elected seats. Discarded Western dress and adopted khadi dhoti, kurta and chappals. Burnt all his foreign clothes. Way of life also changed to traditional pattern in Gujarat. Organised a conference of political workers of Gujarat in Ahmedabad and persuaded it to adopt a resolution supporting Gandhi's civil disobedience movement.

In response to Gandhi's call at Nagpur session of Congress to collect money for Tilak Swaraj Fund, promised to raise Rs. 1 million and enrol 300,000 party members in Gujarat. Fulfilled these promises within three months.

- 1921 Elected chairman of Reception Committee of 36th session of Congress held at Ahmedabad. For first time, delegates sat on floor and the session set new pattern in simplicity, austerity and businesslike proceedings.

Built a hospital and maternity home on 21 acres of land along Sabarmati river at site of session. The fountain built at that time is still there.

- 1922 Government of Bombay suspended Ahmedabad Municipality after a sharp tussle over supervision of municipal

schools. Organised schools under People's Primary Education Board with public contributions. Municipality suspended. Collected Rs. 1 million for Gujarat Vidyapith in a tour which took him up to Rangoon.

1923 All-India Congress Committee deputed him to conduct satyagraha at Nagpur in connection with British District Commissioner's ban on flying national flag in cantonment area. Resisted Bombay Government's levy of punitive tax on people of Borsad who were charged with harbouring criminals. Tax withdrawn. Called Suba of Borsad.

1924 Ahmedabad Municipality reinstated. Fresh elections gave Congress Party a decisive majority in enlarged Municipal Council. Elected President of municipality.

1927 Passed a resolution giving notice to Ahmedabad Cantonment to pay water tax from 1920 at rate of eight annas. If tax was not paid, threatened to cut off water connection. Tax paid under protest.

Introduced khadi uniform in municipality. Municipal work was conducted in Gujarati after he became President. His scheme for supplying pure water passed.

Completed drainage scheme during term as President. Collected all arrears of municipal tax not paid by high officials, some well-to-do people and municipal councillors by cutting water connections and attaching properties.

Unprecedented rainfall caused great damage and hardship throughout Gujarat. Saved Ahmedabad from floods by getting culverts breached. Organised relief measures for flood sufferers with public contributions. Promoted grow-more food and fodder campaigns and opened shops to sell high-quality gram, cereal and cotton seed for sowing at low cost to farmers. Received more than Rs. 10 million from Government earmarked for famine relief. A new party emerged in Ahmedabad Municipality. Clashed with it over appointment of chief officer.

1928 Resigned presidency. Led peasant agitation in Bardoli taluka, Surat district, against increase in land revenue rates. Bombay Government punished farmers for non-payment by confiscating and auctioning land, crops and other property.

As agitation continued unabated, Government agreed to restore all unsold confiscated land, release satyagrahis, reinstate dismissed village officers and reduce land tax. Named Sardar of Bardoli and thereafter known as Sardar Patel. Presided over first local self-government conference in Surat.

- 1929 Presided over Maharashtra Political Conference in Poona. Toured Maharashtra, mobilising public opinion against enhanced land taxes and untouchability. Presided over Kathiawar Political Conference at Morvi. Toured Madras Presidency at request of C. Rajagopalachari. Presided over Tamil Nadu Political Conference at Vedaranyam. Reiterated support for Congress resolution on dominion status at conference against supporters of complete independence. Also visited Karnatak and Bihar. At Calcutta session of Congress advocated support to all-party committee headed by Motilal Nehru which recommended acceptance of dominion status as India's political goal, provided demand was granted within two years. Motilal Nehru, Congress President, moved a resolution from chair congratulating Patel and peasants of Bardoli on victory over British bureaucracy. Nominated in September as a candidate for presidency of Congress session at Lahore but withdrew in favour of Jawaharlal Nehru.
- 1930 Arrested on 7 March while addressing a public meeting at Ras village, near Borsad, a few days after Gandhi announced march to Dandi near Surat, to break salt law. Preceded marchers to arrange accommodation and food on way. Sentenced to three months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 500 or three weeks' additional imprisonment. Refused to pay fine and lodged in Sabarmati jail, Ahmedabad. Went on hunger-strike in jail, requesting C class diet instead of A class. Request granted. Released on 26 June. Arrested when leading a procession in Bombay on 31 July and sentenced to three months' jail. Taken to Yeravda jail near Poona. On release, made a speech at Khadi Bhandar, for which he was arrested. Sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in the second week of December.
- 1931 Released from jail in March under Gandhi-Irwin Pact. Presided over 46th Congress session at Karachi in last

- week of March. Helped Gandhi in his discussions with Viceroy (Lord Irwin) in Simla in last week of August on Congress participation in First Round Table Conference in London.
- 1932 Arrested at 4 a.m. on 4 January and taken by car to Yeravda and imprisoned with Gandhi there for 16 months. Mother died at Karamsad.
- 1933 Transferred to Nasik jail on 1 August. Elder brother Vithalbhai died in Switzerland on 22 October. Rejected terms on which Government offered to release him on parole for two days to perform funeral rites.
- 1934 Developed serious nasal trouble in jail and released on 14 July. Issued statement accepting Gandhi's decision to leave Congress on 24 September. Congress decided at its annual session in Bombay in October to contest elections to Central Legislative Assembly. Undertook tour of many parts of country campaigning for party candidates. British Government allowed Jinnah to go to North-West Frontier. Sardar also sought and obtained permission to do so. But after going there was not allowed to visit Bannu district.
- 1935 Organised relief work in Borsad taluka where plague had broken out in four successive summers. Organised relief for victims of Quetta earthquake from Bombay, where he was laid low with jaundice.
- Sir Roger Lumley, Governor of Bombay, invited Sardar to a meeting and offered him premiership of Bombay Presidency, but added that land confiscated from farmers in Bardoli and sold would not be returned to owners. Sardar replied: "I am not going to be premier and the land will be returned to the peasants."
- President of Third Local Self-Government Conference at Broach.
- 1936 Collected Rs. 49,000 for Harijan Fund in two days in February. Appointed Chairman of Congress Parliamentary Sub-Committee to select party candidates for provincial elections under Government of India Act 1935.
- 1937 Involved in a controversy with K. F. Nariman, President of Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, over selection of premier for Bombay Presidency. Guided Congress Ministries after acceptance of office.

- 1938 Involved in July in controversy on a constitutional issue with Dr. N. B. Khare, Prime Minister of Central Provinces. Khare accused Sardar of conspiring to oust him from office and resigned from Government and Congress. Efforts to impose central party discipline on provincial leaders earned him title Dictator of India. Presided over Kathiawar Rajkiya Parishad. Narrowly escaped attempt to kill him. Visit to Mysore city resulted in Government of Mysore State agreeing to flying of Congress flag in its territory. Flew to Rajkot on 24 December for talks with Thakore Saheb of Rajkot, who signed agreement on release of prisoners in Rajkot State and offered Sardar a portfolio in his Council of Ministers.
- 1939 Subhas Chandra Bose defied Gandhi, Patel and other members of Working Committee and got elected President of Congress at Tripura session uncontested because Maulana Azad withdrew at last moment.
- Thakore Saheb of Rajkot broke agreement and satyagraha was renewed in State early in the year.
- Bose's resolution on mass civil disobedience defeated at Tripura session in February. Bose described Sardar as "shining light of the ruling clique" and resigned presidency.
- Working Committee appointed a war sub-committee of three, including Vallabhbhai, in August. Warned provincial Congress organisations not to force a political crisis by hasty action.
- 1940 Replied in a public speech at Ahmedabad in October to Sir Samuel Hoare, Secretary of State for the Dominions, who had asked in House of Commons whether India was fit for independence. Sardar said: "If you lose the war, you will have lost everything, and even if you win, you will have suffered so heavily that your victory will be an empty one. At the end of the war, I declare no nation will remain subject to another. A great revolution is going to sweep the people everywhere. We shall see a new world emerge out of the fiery ordeal of this war." Arrested under Defence of India Act on 18 November for participating in satyagraha launched by Gandhi to press Britain for firm commitment on Indian independence. Imprisoned in Sabarmati jail and later transferred to Yeravda.

- 1941 Released on 20 August from detention on ground of health. Condemned communal killing in Ahmedabad at first public meeting after release. Treated for acute intestinal disorder.
- 1942 Participated in talks with Sir Stafford Cripps in New Delhi. Favoured acceptance of constitutional proposals put forward by Cripps provided they were modified to suit political conditions in India.
- 1942 Supported Quit India resolution at AICC meeting in Bombay August on 8 August. Arrested at 4 a.m. on 9 August under Defence of India Act. Detained without trial at Ahmednagar fort with other Working Committee members.
- 1945 Transferred to Yeravda. Recurrence of intestinal trouble. Released on 15 June.
- Went to Simla during political talks between Viceroy (Lord Wavell) and Indian leaders.
- Entrusted with organising Congress election campaign for Central and provincial legislatures.
- Secured G. V. Mavalankar's election as Speaker of the Central Legislative Assembly in December.
- 1946 Issued call to Ministers in Congress Governments to work for eradication of untouchability.
- Disapproved Dr. B. R. Ambedkar's proposal for mass conversion of members of Scheduled Castes to other religions. If they changed religion, they could not claim benefits as Harijans.
- Persuaded revolting men of Royal Indian Navy to call off agitation in February as "the dawn of freedom is breaking and the sun will rise in a few months."
- If political issues between Britain and India could not be solved satisfactorily, India would withdraw from Bretton Woods Conference, Sardar said in statement in March. Condemned suggestion that sterling balances should be scaled down. "Sterling credit is the economic foundation of India and this country's future progress largely depends upon it."
- Opposed Jinnah's demand for Pakistan, saying: "It is a monstrous thing that a man can claim a different nationality because he changes his religion." Hindus and Muslims were all basically Indians and thought as such. Congress

could not accept the theory of Pakistan, happen what may. The two-nation theory would ruin all.

Declared in an exclusive interview with the political correspondent of Reuter that India would be prepared to refer major political issues to an international body for arbitration. Britain could not stay in India indefinitely. "Hand over power either to the Congress or to the Muslim League and go out of India," he said.

Advised withdrawal of trial of leaders of Indian National Army in Delhi.

Pleaded for fuller freedom to legislatures in Princely States and to Praja Mandals to select representatives to Constituent Assembly.

Appealed to Sikhs not to boycott Constituent Assembly even though Cabinet Mission had not done them justice.

Rejected possibility of a coalition between Muslim League and Congress.

Joined Viceroy's Executive Council as Home Member on 3 September. Announced in Central Legislative Assembly that foreigners would be appointed to senior administrative posts only in exceptional cases.

Accepted the principle of state control of industry; told Central Legislative Assembly that it was not desirable to go fast on nationalisation.

Spurned Jinnah's proposal for an exchange of population. Urged Muslim League to join Constituent Assembly and abandon its Pakistan policy.

1947 Talks with British Government representatives on transfer of control of services from Secretary of State to Interim Government and compensation for British officials completed. Statement on All India Radio's language policy announcing changes in existing practice.

Rejoinder to Jinnah: "Let an impartial tribunal decide the Pakistan issue, for Pakistan could be attained only on the basis of justice and understanding and not by force of arms."

Appealed to Muslim League to accept invitation to join talks and agree to arbitration by a "free power" in case of disagreement between League and Congress.

Told Princes to play their part in shaping India's destiny. Warned North-West Frontier Province Ministry headed by Khan Abdul Qayum Khan that Centre would not submit to rowdyism and threats.

Interim Government's proposals on compensation to British officials accepted by Attlee Government. Demanded dominion status for India "at once" so that a strong Centre could deal firmly with threats to law and order. Statement issued on outbreak of riots in Dera Ismail Khan and elsewhere in NWFP.

Rulers of Dholpur, Nabha and Nawanagar told Sardar in New Delhi of their decision to join Constituent Assembly. States Department created and entrusted to Sardar. Described Jinnah's demand for a land corridor linking West Pakistan with the eastern wing as "fantastic nonsense."

Assured Princes that "internal autonomy" of their states would be respected.

Patel Committee's report on minorities submitted to Constituent Assembly. Report recommended joint electorates, representation in Ministries at Centre and in states and other safeguards.

Insisted on stationing a brigade of Indian Army in Kathiawar to protect states acceding to Indian Union from apprehended attack from Junagadh.

Persuaded Government to overrule Mountbatten and entrust Indian Army with operations against Nawab of Junagadh.

Pledged Government protection to Muslims staying in India. Said forced conversions and marriages would not be recognised.

Announced full agreement between India and Pakistan on all outstanding issues relating to partition, including division of armed forces. Said Kashmir had not been referred to Inter-Dominion Partition Committee. Announced in Constituent Assembly financial settlement between India and Pakistan under which India would transfer Rs. 750 millions to Pakistan as a "great gesture of goodwill."

Addressed Orissa rulers in Cuttack. They agreed to merge their territories with Orissa province.

Announced at public meeting in Jammu that "everything possible" would be done to save Kashmir, "and this assurance I am conveying on behalf of the Government of India." Praised Sheikh Abdullah's role in ensuring Kashmir's accession to India.

1948 Appealed to labour leaders of West Bengal to support popular Government. Warned Pakistan that if it wanted further division of the country, "let us do it in the open field." Asked Indian Muslims: "In the recent all-India Muslim Conference, why did you not open your mouths on the Kashmir issue? Why did you not condemn the action of Pakistan? These things create doubts in the minds of the people."

Declared in a statement: "Unless the Kashmir issue is settled, the financial pact between India and Pakistan cannot be implemented. . . . Let there be no mistake that Kashmir belongs to India."

Declared at Patna that abolition of zamindari without compensation would be nothing short of robbery.

Appealed to Nizam of Hyderabad to respect his people's wishes and accede to India.

Inaugurating Rajasthan Union, said that only by coming together could smaller states save themselves from anarchy and confusion.

In message on formation of Vindhya Pradesh, said: "Unification and democratisation would be purposeless if they did not bring about improvement in the lot of the people." Warned British politicians and Press to halt propaganda against India. Blamed Churchill for India's partition and attendant disasters.

Rejected compromise on Hyderabad. Accession and responsible government were India's minimum demands.

Said in an eve-of-independence speech: "In free India there is no room for divided loyalties."

Informed Parliament that "action would be taken against Hyderabad for breach of the standstill agreement."

Congratulated Defence Services on their remarkable success in the "police action" in Hyderabad.

Indicted UN for mishandling Kashmir issue. "We accepted the UN Commission's cease-fire proposals, but the other

party did not. We could perform the Kashmir operation without danger if only we could free ourselves from our commitments."

Referring to Pakistan and its anti-Indian propaganda, said: "I wonder whether they are really afraid of us, or is this outburst merely an attempt to preserve their unity?"

Inaugurated Advisory Board of Central India States. Praised Nehru's leadership on his 60th birthday, saying: "Pandit Nehru has led the country through the crisis and has by his great leadership enhanced the prestige of India. We want our leader to remain at the helm for many years."

1949 Announced merger of five Princely States of Rajputana—Bikaner, Jaipur, Jaisalmer, Jodhpur and Udaipur—to form Rajasthan Union and hailed it as a momentous development.

Advised Maharaja of Baroda to merge his State with Bombay. Challenged contention of Nawab of Bhopal that paramountcy had lapsed with British withdrawal from India. Warned Communists that if they continued to oppose Government and create danger they would be dealt with severely.

Opposed demand for linguistic states because consolidation of country must precede revision of boundaries.

Appealed to members of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh to join Congress.

Advised South Indians to learn Hindi.

Appealed for public contributions to rebuild Somnath temple in Junagadh.

Announced in Hyderabad that responsible government would be introduced in former Nizam's State only after normalcy was restored.

Warned Master Tara Singh in a speech at Amritsar that he was following suicidal policies.

Advised RSS to concentrate on regenerating Hindu society through constitutional and constructive methods.

Inaugurated Rajasthan State in Jaipur.

Announced take-over of administration of Bhopal State by Centre and congratulated Nawab on his understanding

and self-sacrifice. Declared that welfare of Muslims would be prime concern of State's new administration.

At a public meeting at Indore, warned Congress politicians in newly formed states unions that he would dissolve ministries and administer unions centrally if they did not stop their petty squabbles and tussles for power.

Told All-India Depressed Classes Leagues Confederation: "India's independence will not be completed until every Harijan claims, and actually gets, equality of status."

Moving consideration of report of Advisory Committee on Minorities in Constituent Assembly, said: "Minority concessions, though not good in themselves, have to be treated as purely temporary. Minorities should voluntarily agree to abolition of reservations for them in services and legislatures."

Supported grant of privy purses to princes in return for accession to Indian Union.

1950 Warned Pakistan against pushing Hindus out of eastern wing.

Defended in Parliament use of preventive detention to fight terrorism and violence.

Gave details of democratic set-up for Delhi Union Territory.

Appealed at public meeting in Calcutta for fair trial to Nehru-Liaquat Pact on minorities.

Told public meeting at Indore that Congress "is fully behind Nehru." Called for revolution in system of education in address to Gujarat Vidyapith.

Opened newly constructed building of Navajivan Trust, Ahmedabad. Purse of Rs. 1.5 million presented on behalf of Gujarat on his 75th birthday, which he immediately handed over to President of the Provincial Congress Committee.

Declared that accepting aid from United States did not mean alignment with any power bloc. UNO should be strengthened.

Deplored Chinese intervention in Tibet and use of force against Tibetans.

Fell ill on 15 November. Taken to Bombay on Tuesday, 12 December. Died on Friday morning, 15 December.

FOCUS ON SARDAR

An illuminating picture of Sardar Patel's activities and style of work was provided by his daughter Maniben. What follows are extracts from the information and views given by her to Trevor Drieberg and the Editor in New Delhi.

The Sardar was a man of few words. He wrote very little; he hardly kept any record of his public or party work. He destroyed letters addressed to him after reading them and replied by hand, not keeping copies. But after he was appointed Chairman of the Congress Parliamentary Board in 1934, files relating to its transactions were kept.

When the Sardar fell ill towards the end of the Bardoli satyagraha in 1928, it was suggested that somebody should give him secretarial help. I said: "If someone is to be kept, why not I?" From 1929 until his death, I preserved his correspondence whenever possible. Once, when K. Gopalaswami, political commentator of the Times of India, visited him in his flat on Marine Drive, Bombay, the Sardar called for a letter he had received from C. Rajagopalachari, forgetting that he had torn it up and thrown it in the wastepaper basket. Fortunately, I had collected the pieces. It took me some time to paste them together before passing it on to him. This happened before the Interim Government was formed.

The Sardar travelled second-class by railway before he became a Minister. I would spread his bedding at night and retire to a third-class compartment. But from 1934, when there was much correspondence to attend to even on train journeys and people came to see him at stations, I kept company with him in his second-class compartment. I used to make copies of important letters he wrote in hand, but he would question this, asking why I was taking such trouble and wasting time. I also kept newspaper clippings of important events with which he was associated.

The Sardar read several newspapers and listened to radio news bulletins regularly. This enabled him to keep abreast of developments throughout the country. He also talked to people to get information to supplement other sources.

After 1945, the secretarial functions of the Congress Parliamentary Board were undertaken mainly by Shantilal Shah. The Sardar was undergoing treatment for intestinal trouble at the

Nature Cure Clinic, Poona, when he sent for Shantilal Shah from Bombay. Shah, a Congress Socialist, hesitated at first because he did not know what was in store for him. But B. G. Kher (Premier of Bombay) advised him to take up the work. The Sardar told Shah he wanted him to act as his secretary at the Parliamentary Board office located at the headquarters of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee.

The Sardar was a very shrewd judge of character. When he met a person for the first time he looked him up and down, and the assessment he made in that process rarely went wrong.

Once when Mathuradas Trikamji, Mayor of Bombay, asked what kind of men he kept round him, the Sardar replied that his was a "juggler's basket." He kept all kinds of people for the single aim of winning India's freedom. He used different people for different purposes. He was fully aware of their weaknesses and drawbacks but exploited their useful qualities.

The Sardar learnt punctuality in his youth when he had to do everything for himself. This experience taught him to save time by doing things according to schedule. This gave him self-reliance and at the same time an appreciation of the difficulties other people encountered. He walked on business errands rather than use transport. This habit served him well in London when he was attending the Inns of Court. He used to walk from his lodgings to the law library, a distance of several miles daily. He could not afford to buy books for study, and was at the library when the librarian opened it and left at closing time every evening.

The visit to England fulfilled two of my father's ambitions. He wanted to see the country from which people had come to conquer India and to qualify as a barrister. He had seen how even mediocre lawyers had been able to build up a large practice because they had been to London to study for the Bar. On his return to Ahmedabad, he established himself as the city's leading criminal lawyer.

When he was a district pleader at Borsad in the early 1900s, there was a British magistrate who kept a mirror in his court to study the faces of witnesses. This made witnesses nervous and the magistrate drew conclusions from their behaviour about their truthfulness. The Sardar thought of a plan to make the officer behave. He demanded transfer to the district court of a case in which he was appearing before the magistrate. The Sardar presented him with a sealed letter. The magistrate opened the letter and saw his name

heading the list of witnesses for the defence. He called the Sardar to his chamber for a talk. The accused was acquitted and the magistrate stopped using the mirror, conceding that he had no right to do so. This incident illustrates a facet of my father's character. He had no fear of the British magistracy or administrators.

The Sardar was a man of regular habits and disliked armchair politicians. He read about Gandhiji's action in Champaran and was impressed by his methods of organising peasants to resist exploitation and oppression. Mahatma Gandhi was preoccupied with the agitation in Bihar and wanted somebody who would give up everything and devote all his time to the satyagraha campaign in Kaira district organised as a protest against excessive land revenue. My father volunteered his services, and they were accepted.

Until that time the Sardar wore European dress. He was so fastidious that finding no good laundry in Ahmedabad he got his stiff collars washed in Bombay.

From early youth, the Sardar developed the qualities of leadership and discipline. In later life, these qualities were to help him in organising large groups of people for action. Until the Bardoli movement, he was hardly known outside Gujarat. He did not go out of Gujarat until Gandhiji's sentence of imprisonment for six years in 1922, when he went on a fund-raising mission for the Gujarat Vidyapith as far east as Rangoon.

For years in Gujarat, whenever Gandhiji addressed a public meeting the Sardar did not speak at it and later, when the Sardar spoke, other Congress leaders did not speak. This is an illustration of the discipline observed by Congressmen at the time. The leader spoke for them and the others showed their loyalty by action.

When Gandhiji started the swadeshi movement and burning of foreign clothes, the Sardar burnt all his European clothes, socks and hats. He never wore any type of headgear, even a khadi cap, after he cast aside his black Banglari cap. From then, he always wore dhoti and kurta and a chaddar on his shoulder, adding only a warm jacket in winter.

The satyagraha in Borsad taluka, Kaira district, lasted a month. The provincial Government had levied a punitive tax of eight annas—a large sum at that time—per person on all the inhabitants for the maintenance of the preventive police. Even children were taxed. The campaign succeeded and in this satyagraha he gained the title Suba of Borsad.

Another sphere in which the Sardar helped to raise the morale of the people of the area was connected with the activities of dacoits. People dared not leave their houses after 6 p.m. for fear of dacoits who infested the area. They appealed to the Sardar for help. He agreed, provided they did not allow their houses to be used for keeping stolen property.

In the Bardoli satyagraha, there was one organiser for every big village. The Sardar set out at noon from his headquarters and returned at midnight after visiting many villages. There was only one car, so all the other organisers journeyed on foot or by train or cart. The peasants accepted the Sardar as their unquestioned leader. Every morning, he received written reports from each village through volunteer messengers. The title Sardar of Bardoli was conferred on him by a party worker at a public meeting. It gained nationwide currency when Gandhiji started referring to him in this manner.

As head of Ahmedabad Municipality, the Sardar looked far ahead of immediate civic needs and planned accordingly, unlike some of his successors who made changes looking to short-term gains.

His qualities of leadership were recognised when he organised relief measures during the floods that hit Gujarat in 1927. He went round Ahmedabad city with the chief engineer and ordered a culvert to be broken to let the flood waters flow into the Sabarmati river. This saved the city from total inundation. He also persuaded the Bombay Government to provide more than a crore of rupees for relief to the flood victims. He sent help to the Collector of Kaira when the district was cut off from the rest of Gujarat. Only the Collector's bungalow, which stood on a mound, was safe, and all the townfolk had gathered there for safety. The Sardar's men brought food and other necessities.

The Sardar went to Calcutta for the Congress session over which Motilal Nehru presided. Even though his name had become a household word as the hero of Bardoli his physical appearance was not known. The volunteers of the Congress failed to identify him and since he did not carry a ticket he was not admitted to the pandal. The next day he carried his membership card and the volunteers were surprised when they found people shouting for the darshan of the Sardar of Bardoli and that the hero was the person the volunteers had kept out the previous day.

The Sardar was favoured by the Provincial Congress Committees as the next party president, but Motilal Nehru wrote to

Gandhiji asking that Jawaharlal should succeed him. Motilal wanted to see his son Congress chief before he died. My father agreed with Bapu (Gandhiji) that Motilal's wish be fulfilled.

It was usual for the Congress President to attend annual sessions with large retinues. The Sardar went to the Karachi session in 1931 with only me and an aide, thus cutting drastically the expenses of the reception committee.

The outlook of the Sardar and of Nehru was vastly different. They agreed to differ, but at the same time worked together for the common cause of India's freedom. The influence of Mridula Sarabhai and Rafi Ahmed Kidwai on Nehru was to a large extent responsible for the rift between my father and Jawaharlal.

The Sardar became the party boss from the time he became head of the Parliamentary Board. He was also the party's main fund-raiser. The Congress High Command, of which he was the mainspring, functioned as a moral prop for the Chief Ministers against the administrative machine directed by the British.

I used to sleep by the telephone to take calls that came at odd hours of the night so that the Sardar's sleep was not disturbed. I took down messages and passed them on to him the next morning. One such call came at midnight from Biswanath Das, then Premier of Orissa. He had decided to resign over the choice of a provincial official to act as Governor. The Sardar backed him and the Viceroy yielded.

I may recall a meeting the Sardar had with Bombay Governor Lumley in 1935 at Lumley's request. It lasted about an hour. Lumley told the Sardar that he would be Premier of Bombay, but the lands confiscated from the peasants of Bardoli would never be returned. The Sardar replied: "Note it down that I am not going to be Premier, and also that the lands will be returned to the peasants."

The Sardar took many unpopular decisions in party and Government matters, but his decisions were accepted because he had no axe to grind. He was not amenable to threats or blackmail. He had no property of his own and he was above extraneous considerations. He had nothing to lose, had no ambition and no desire to cling to office.

Once in Yeravda jail, Gandhiji asked in good humour what post he would like to hold after Independence. The Sardar replied he would become a sadhu. In 1945, when it had been decided to replace Azad as Congress President, the Sardar got the largest

share of votes in the Working Committee. But Kripalani, one of the candidates, withdrew in favour of Nehru and handed a paper to the Sardar to withdraw his nomination as well so that Nehru could be elected unopposed.

Gandhiji, to whom this matter was referred, told Nehru: "I don't want to make you a prop of mine if people don't want you." Nehru kept silent and was selected President. Gandhiji supported Nehru's choice as Prime Minister because he was well known outside India. He compared the Sardar and Nehru to two bullocks yoked to a cart. He felt that if Nehru was made Prime Minister he would be prevented from "making mischief" in the country.

When the Sardar became Home Minister and later on Deputy Prime Minister, anybody could call on him during his morning walk from 4.30 to 6.30. He was a fast walker and few could keep pace with him. They told him what they wanted and then they would drop out when the dialogue was over. He gave brief answers and listened mostly. For party workers and others this was an opportunity for opening their hearts to him. At the end of an hour's listening, the Sardar would probably reply in a couple of words. He arranged assistance for even the humblest party worker who needed it. He provided hospitalisation if necessary. After his illness in March 1948 his medical advisers stopped morning walks completely and restricted his interviews.

In 1941, he was afflicted with severe intestinal trouble. He woke around 3.30 every morning because of pain in the bowels. He spent an hour in the toilet before setting out on his morning walk. He had a cup of tea and breakfast, which consisted of a piece of toast and apple juice. In these early morning hours, before going for a walk, I did my quota of spinning. When he assumed office his Private Secretary V. Shankar came in with office files after breakfast. The Sardar looked through the morning newspapers carefully and rarely missed any significant news. He gave oral instructions to Shankar. As before, he would write as little as possible. When in good health, he left home around 9.30 for the Home Ministry, returned for lunch and after a nap of 15 minutes went to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry.

I looked after the Sardar's Gujarati correspondence while Shankar attended to that in English. I passed on some of the correspondence in Hindi to Shankar. Morarji Desai had recommended Shankar as Private Secretary. The Sardar invited him to lunch to look him over before selecting him for the post.

The Partition Committee set up under the Mountbatten Plan and consisting of as many as 30 to 40 officers, would come to the Sardar's house and stay up to lunch receiving instructions from him. Its members had to report back to him in the evening. Every order he issued had to be executed within 24 hours. He rang up Premiers at night when he had a particular issue to discuss with them. He was against wasting money on telephone calls on matters that were not urgent. I kept a diary of all private trunk calls, for which the Sardar paid out of his own pocket.

I recall another instance of his method of work. There was a crisis in the jute industry. The Sardar phoned C. C. Desai, Commerce Secretary, and M. P. Birla, Chairman of the Indian Jute Manufacturers' Association, Calcutta, and others every night to check on developments. Similarly, at the time of the Bombay riots and disturbances elsewhere, he made phone calls at night to find out what was happening. He made calls to Punjab and Bengal and UP at the time of the partition troubles.

The Sardar was not impolite or arrogant in his dealings with people. He replied promptly to correspondence. He read all the letters addressed to him personally and generally told the officer concerned how he should reply. He never signed letters or any other document blindly. When he was not fully satisfied with a draft, he would change it himself or ask the officer concerned to redraft it. He liked precision and conciseness in letters. He would say that this was "not a place for essays" or for exhibiting one's command of English.

Mountbatten recognised the Sardar's greatness. I was the only other person present when the Sardar had a talk with Bapu between 4 and 5 p.m. on the day of his assassination. Bapu had decided to release the Sardar from the Ministry at the latter's instance, but Mountbatten strongly opposed this because he felt that the Sardar "had his feet on the ground while Nehru had his in the clouds." He told Gandhiji that he could not release the Sardar. Gandhiji agreed and withdrew his decision.

It was agreed at the conversation on January 30 afternoon that Gandhiji, Nehru and the Sardar should sit together and iron out their differences. But this meeting was never held. The Sardar was greatly upset by the slander campaign against him at that time in certain Congress and Government circles. He was worried at heart that Gandhiji had to defend him continually against these slanders.

Previously, when Nehru lived at York Road and the Sardar just across on Aurangzeb Road, they used to meet every day, even though for a few minutes. Nehru would sometimes drop in after lunch, or in the evening or at night after dinner. They walked together and discussed matters. The Sardar would walk with Nehru up to the gate of the latter's house on York Road and see him off there or they would return together to Aurangzeb Road.

These daily meetings and talks cleared misunderstandings, but this dialogue became very difficult after Nehru moved to the house of the former Commander-in-Chief on Teen Murti Marg. If he had not moved there on Mountbatten's advice, much of their later differences might never have developed. Because of his illness, the Sardar was not able to go to Nehru's house frequently.

When there were party matters to be attended to, the Sardar requested the AICC General Secretary to call at his house for instructions. The Working Committee met at the Sardar's residence since there was no good AICC office building at that time in Delhi. The provincial Premiers constantly sought his guidance, and he was a great help to them in their encounters with members of the bureaucracy or party dissidents.

The administrations of the new states formed after integration lacked capable men to guide them. But in those areas where party members had carried out constructive work under the Sardar's direction before independence, such men were available. This was so in Kathiawar and Gujarat. Elsewhere in the country, party workers in the former states had only indulged in agitation and there was no solid foundation for their work.

The Sardar did not aspire to prime ministership or any other high office. He once said that if India had won Swaraj ten years earlier he would have solved the food problem as he had solved that of the states. He added: "But I have not the strength to do so now." He considered food the country's most important problem after consolidation. He was essentially a man of action, averse to writing. His philosophy of life may be summed up in the words: "Why not create history rather than waste time writing it?"

MANIBEN PATEL

OUTLINE OF I-X VOLUMES

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KASHMIR PROBLEM

1945-46

ELECTIONS

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Interim Government and its working

Negotiations with Indian States—their place in future set-up
Bretton Woods Conference and other international conferences

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Provincial politics—Assam, Bengal, Bihar, Bombay, Central
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NATIONAL ISSUES

Working of Central Government

(i) Interim Union Government

(a) Before 15 August 1947

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(a) Ambassadorial appointments

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(a) Accession

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INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND ITS WORKING

Internal—Inter-ministerial correspondence

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New Head of State under Constitution

Role of Governor

STATES POLITICS

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Hyderabad issue

Provincial politics

HIGHLIGHTS—VOLUMES I-IV AND VI-X

VOL. I: NEW LIGHT ON KASHMIR

This absorbing inside story of the events leading up to Independence and continuing subsequently till Sardar Patel's death in 1950 has not been told before. It contains the basic raw material for the research scholar and the historian. The correspondence published in this series opens with the efforts of Maharaja Hari Singh and his counsellors in Srinagar to shore up the feudal structure in Jammu and Kashmir by denial of democratic rights.

The Maharaja unleashed a campaign of repression against the National Conference, the political mouthpiece of the state people, arrested Sheikh Mohammed Abdullah, its chief, and charged him with sedition. Jawaharlal Nehru entered Kashmir in defiance of the state Government's ban and courted arrest.

The Maharaja, finding that his hands were forced by the invasion of the state from Pakistan by armed "raiders," opted for India and, after signing the instrument of accession, agreed to the formation of a popular government under Sheikh Abdullah. The Maharaja and the Sheikh were soon at loggerheads. The Maharaja, under relentless pressure from New Delhi, surrendered power and placed himself in the hands of the Sardar who, as the correspondence reveals, played a crucial role in the negotiations which led ultimately to the withdrawal of the Maharaja from the state and the succession of his heir, Yuvraj Karan Singh, as regent and finally as constitutional head of the state.

Patel also pointed out how India's case on Kashmir before the United Nations Security Council should have been effectively presented. The exchange of letters between him and the Sheikh foreshadows the strong differences on approach to the Kashmir problem which ultimately led to the Sheikh's removal from the prime ministership of the state in 1953. Abdullah went his own way, heedless of Patel's restraining influence.

VOL. II: ELECTIONS TO CENTRAL & PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURES—DIRECTION OF CONGRESS CAMPAIGN

Soon after the Congress leaders were released from detention in 1944, negotiations opened with the representatives of the British Raj in New Delhi and the leaders of other Indian political

parties, notably the Muslim League, on new constitutional arrangements to suit the change in the political climate brought about by World War II and to satisfy the aspirations of the Indian people for freedom.

Patel's guiding hand was evident in these negotiations as well as in the direction and management of the Congress campaign for the elections to the Central and provincial legislatures under the Government of India Act of 1935. These elections, based on communal electorates with a restricted franchise, were an acid test of the Congress claim to represent the Indian people and to be the recipient of power on their behalf when the British relinquished their authority. The Muslim League, through Mohammed Ali Jinnah, contested this claim, asserting that it was the sole champion of the Muslim "nation" which aspired to a separate existence on the advent of independence.

Patel's role as chief of staff of the Congress High Command, indefatigably marshalling manpower and finances and selection of suitable candidates for the big electoral battle, comes out strikingly in the correspondence in this volume.

VOL. III: GUIDANCE TO MINISTRIES—CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY
PROBLEMS—INTERIM GOVERNMENT DEADLOCK—REFORMS
IN INDIAN STATES

Elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies were followed by the formation of a board consisting of Maulana Azad, Sardar Patel and Dr. Rajendra Prasad to organise elections to the Constituent Assembly as proposed under the Cabinet Mission plan, aiding and guiding Provincial Congress Ministries, including the Coalition Ministry in the Punjab, and supervising the working of the Congress party in the Central Assembly. These tasks fell primarily on the shoulders of Sardar Patel, who functioned as a one-man High Command.

The political situation was complicated by several factors. The Governor of Sind, Sir Francis Mudie, manoeuvred to put in the Muslim League in power. Direct Action Day, observed by the Muslim League on 16 August 1946, resulted in unprecedented communal carnage in Calcutta. There were riots in Bihar. The League refused to agree to the Cabinet Mission plan. Mahatma Gandhi's meetings with Lord Wavell failed to straighten matters. Patel attributed the deadlock over the formation of an Interim Coalition Government to bungling by the Viceroy.

An Interim Government, headed by Nehru and consisting of Congress party nominees, was formed on 2 September 1946. It was enlarged into a Congress-League coalition in the middle of October 1946. Soon after, Patel described the coalition, which was functioning without joint responsibility, as an arena of party politics and intrigue. He repeatedly drew Wavell's attention to the disruptionist role of the League members of the government. He also tried to persuade him to bring Bengal under virtual martial law to restore peace and tranquillity. Problems of Indian National Army personnel, the Royal Indian Navy uprising, creation of the International Monetary Fund, shipping, trade, and the Secretary of State's Services were firmly and constructively handled by the Sardar.

The movement for reform in the Indian states sponsored by Praja Mandals received an impetus from political developments in British India. The meagre hope of success is revealed in a note Nehru forwarded to the Sardar of his talks with the Nawab of Bhopal in early April 1946. The Sardar, however, guided the movement into the right channel. The correspondence reveals the country in the throes of revolutionary change.

VOL. IV: TRANSFER OF POWER—COMMUNAL HOLOCAUST AND PARTITION—ADMINISTRATION AND STABILITY

The political deadlock dragged on from 1946 to 1947. All efforts of the Congress to avert partition failed as the League, instigated by sympathisers in the top echelons of the British bureaucracy in India and Britain, stuck out for Pakistan. Finally, the Congress capitulated under heavy pressure and the twin states of secular, democratic India and Islamic, autocratic Pakistan were born, with Governor-General Mountbatten playing the role of midwife.

Partition and transfer of power were accompanied by the tragedy and turmoil of wholesale uprooting of populations, mass murder and looting and other acts of barbarity. The entire socio-economic structure of the affected provinces seemed on the verge of collapse. How the problem of restoring peace and sanity and resettling the uprooted and dispossessed victims of the trauma of partition was handled, primarily by Patel, with courage and firmness, is revealed in the correspondence.

While the Attlee Government in London and Mountbatten in New Delhi appeared to play fair by the Congress and the Indian people, British administrators continued to play politics

at the lower levels and were instrumental in pushing Pakistan into a military adventure in Kashmir as part of their game to weaken India economically and politically. The Muslim League, which had grabbed power in Pakistan, eagerly collaborated in this game.

**VOL. VI: PATEL-NEHRU DIFFERENCES—ASSASSINATION OF GANDHI—
SERVICES REORGANISED—REFUGEE REHABILITATION**

Sardar Patel and Jawaharlal Nehru came to the brink of relinquishing office in each other's favour over differences, first arising out of communal disturbances in Ajmer-Merwara and later snowballing into serious conflict over the definition of the functions of the Prime Minister in relation to his colleagues and the preparation of memoranda by both for presentation to Gandhi for his adjudication. The assassination of Gandhi at this crucial period acted, however, as a cementing bond between them. The Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh and similar organisations were banned.

C. Rajagopalachari was brought to the Centre as Governor-General in succession to Mountbatten. Restoring popular confidence after the Gandhi murder and curbing the extremist elements responsible for it without at the same time causing civil strife was the responsibility of Patel. The correspondence between Nehru and Patel on this subject reveals the different styles with which they functioned. Throughout the year, the influx of fresh waves of refugees and their rehabilitation continued to be a major pre-occupation of the government, and it was Patel's lot to co-ordinate these tasks.

The difficulties encountered in providing cohesive and effective administrations in the provinces called for firm directives from Patel. In the United Provinces, the major conflict was between the veteran Congress leader Purushottamdas Tandon and Premier Pant and their political adversary Rafi Ahmed Kidwai. This was represented in the Press as a struggle between supporters of Patel and Nehru and a reflection of a power tussle at a higher level. Sharp differences arose in Assam between Governor Akbar Hydari and Chief Minister Gopinath Bardoloi, while Communist activities became a cause of worry in this province and in neighbouring West Bengal.

**VOL. VII: INTEGRATING INDIAN STATES—POLICE
ACTION IN HYDERABAD**

The year 1948 was significant for the introduction of responsible government in many Princely States, and also for the attempts of some princes to block this process. Integration talks were

launched and new groupings of states came into existence with popular ministers to run them. Not long after their induction, Patel was called upon to deal with the squabbles within these governments as well as between them and the princely heads of the new unions.

The papers relating to the States of Hyderabad and Junagadh have been brought together, for their case stands apart from that of the other states which voluntarily merged in the Indian Union as a result of the patriotic impulse of their rulers, who read the signs of the times. While the ruler of Junagadh fled to Pakistan, the Nizam dreamt of carving out an independent state in the belly of the Indian Union.

With this end in view, the Nizam's agents went on an arms buying spree in Europe and organised bands of thugs to terrorise the predominantly Hindu population of his State. Secret negotiations were also started with the British for the addition of Bastar State to his domain and the retrocession of Berar, which had been incorporated in the Central Provinces. Advances were made to the Portuguese Government about providing access to Hyderabad through Goa to the Arabian Sea.

Here, as in other instances of princely opposition to joining India, the undercover manoeuvrings of British officials and politicians, keen on seeing India weak and divided after independence, played an important part in stiffening the resistance of the Nizam and the feudal clique which supported him. After vain attempts to persuade the Nizam to agree peaceably to joining the Indian Union, as the vast majority of his subjects demanded, the Indian Government organised a "police action" to effect the merger. The story ends with the Nizam's surrender and expression of complete confidence in Sardar Patel's political sagacity.

VOL. VIII: FOREIGN POLICY IN EVOLUTION—CONSTITUTION- MAKING—POLITICAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS

The future of India's relations with the Commonwealth of Nations, ties with Nepal, recognition of Communist China and disputes with Pakistan over canal waters, ill-treatment of minorities in Pakistan and evacuee property were important matters of foreign policy in which the Sardar made a significant contribution. The main task the Sardar undertook was to merge the Unions of Princely States with the adjoining states of the Indian Union, thus creating a bigger territorial unit than existed under the British or any former Raj.

Internally, differences arose over whether the first President of the Indian Republic should be C. Rajagopalachari or Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Nehru and Patel took different attitudes to mass agitation by the Akalis in East Punjab. The Hindu Code Bill was another issue on which eminent Congress leaders differed from the government's view.

The sentence of death was passed on 12 February on Nathuram Godse, the principal accused in the Gandhi murder case, and Patel overruled pleas for clemency. As Minister of Information and Broadcasting, he laid down a policy on the use of Hindi for the guidance of All India Radio.

Nehru visited the United States. Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister, filled in for him. His confidential fortnightly letter of over 10,000 words to chief ministers of states elaborating his political, economic and administrative philosophy is in the nature of a will and testament.

VOL. IX: POLITICAL CONTROVERSIES—REFUGEES FROM EAST
BENGAL—TERRITORIAL INTEGRATION OF PRINCELY STATES

Factionalism continued to cause administrative snarls in the states and provinces and to this were added charges of corruption and abuse of power against those in authority. The Sardar was deeply involved in trying to keep peace among the warring factions and weeding out the corrupt. A controversy erupted in West Bengal over the relative status of Bengali and Hindi for official purposes, and a movement for Greater Bengal, including East Pakistan, raised its head in the province.

Friction within the Madras Ministry was sharpened by popular demands for a separate Andhra Pradesh. Factions within the Punjab Congress came to be identified with Nehru and Patel. In Hyderabad, the Communists as well as communalists became active and caused anxiety to the State administration. The Communist-supported uprising of the peasants of Telengana, who employed force to dispossess the landlords and divide up their property, led to military operations against them.

Communal riots broke out in West Bengal as more refugees streamed in from East Pakistan with stories of atrocities perpetrated on the Hindu minority there. The Congress party split in Andhra Pradesh at the same time as the Communist swung into action in the region. Master Tara Singh strove hard to stir up communal feeling in the Punjab. He advocated a cautious approach to the language problem in this province.

The partition of Bengal and the consequent loss of jute so necessary for mills in India was a matter of great concern to the Sardar who wanted the provinces to put more acreage under its cultivation. Food shortage equally worried him and he urged the provinces to open up waste lands and popularise modern and better techniques of agriculture among farmers. On other economic fronts he appealed to labour to shun strikes for the more reasonable procedure of arbitration of disputes. To Rajendra Prasad's objection that the Hindu Code Bill should not be rushed through the legislature, he said the party had debated it and decided "to support" it. He emphasised that even majority party decisions should be accepted and implemented by all members and objectors should quit. He stressed the need for quick action in the cases of suspended government servants.

VOL. X: ACUTE POWER STRUGGLE—TRIUMPH OF MUTUAL
ACCOMMODATION—WARNING AGAINST CHINA

The highlight of foreign affairs was the Chinese invasion of Tibet, an event which raised the problem of security along the Himalayan border. In letters to Nehru and CR, the Sardar underscored the potential threats to India's sovereignty from this source. Pakistan's persecution of minorities, incursions into Indian territory and general hostility were other matters of concern to New Delhi. Efforts were even made to poison the good relations between India and Nepal. After the election of Rajendra Prasad as President, Nehru announced his intention of resigning the office of Prime Minister and devote himself to party activities. The Central Cabinet was reconstituted and CR entered it. There were several exchanges of correspondence between Nehru and Patel on matters of principle, including a definition of the powers of a governor. Finance Minister John Matthai resigned on an issue of principle, and this was followed by a bitter war of words.

In the Congress presidential election, Nehru and Patel ranged on different sides. Nehru opposed Purushottamdas Tandon's nomination, and when Tandon was elected Nehru refused to join the Congress Working Committee. The Sardar's health began to fail.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADG	Aid-de-Camp
AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
CID	Criminal Investigation Department or Committee of Imperial Defence
CIO	Central Intelligence Officer
COD	Central Ordnance Depot
CP	Central Provinces
CrPC	Criminal Procedure Code
DIB	Director of Intelligence Bureau (Home Department)
DIG	Deputy Inspector General (of Police)
E-in-C	Engineer-in-Chief
HE	His Excellency
HM	His Majesty or Honourable Member or Honourable Minister
IAF	Indian Air Force
INA	Indian National Army
KPCG	Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee or Karnatak Pradesh Congress Committee
NWFP	North West Frontier Province
PGS	Provincial Civil Service
PWD	Public Works Department

GLOSSARY OF INDIAN TERMS

<i>Allah</i>	God
<i>Bapu</i>	Affectionate form of address for Gandhi used by followers; means father
<i>Gaddi</i>	Throne; seat of rank or royalty
<i>Gurkha</i>	Nepalese tribe known for military power
<i>Harijan</i>	Children of God, a term coined by Gandhi for untouchables; also title of Gandhi's weekly newspaper
<i>Hartal</i>	Strike
<i>Jat</i>	Agricultural caste of north-west India: found in Baluchistan, Sind, Punjab, Western United Provinces and Rajputana and comprising people of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh faiths
<i>Ji</i>	Respectful address as in Gandhiji, Shastriji
<i>Kirpan</i>	Miniature sword
<i>Mahatma</i>	Great soul
<i>Maulvi</i>	Muslim priest
<i>Moharram</i>	Muslim celebration to mourn the death of Hasan and Hosain, grandsons of Prophet Mohammad
<i>Panchayat</i>	Court of Arbitration (properly of five persons) for settling disputes
<i>Pandit</i>	Title applied to those versed in scriptures but used commonly to denote a Brahmin
<i>Panthik</i>	One devoted to Sikh faith
<i>Parsee</i>	Descendent of Zoroastrian refugees who fled Iran after its conquest by Muslims
<i>Pir</i>	Head of a religious sect
<i>Prajamandal</i>	States peoples' association
<i>Praja Parishad</i>	People's party; name of a political organisation allied to Hindu Mahasabha
<i>Praja Sabha</i>	Assembly

<i>Pujniya</i>	Respected
<i>Quaid-i-Azam</i>	Supreme leader; title for Jinnah popularised by Gandhi in 1944
<i>Quran</i>	Muslim religious book
<i>Rajpramukh</i>	Literally first among rulers and is the title of the head of the new Part 'B' States
<i>Saheb</i>	Master; respectful form of address
<i>Shrijut</i>	A Sanskrit term used by Hindus to denote 'Mr' or 'Esquire'; this term is common before Hindu names
<i>Sikh</i>	Disciple; follower of Guru Nanak (1469-1538), the first of the line of 10 Gurus (leaders) who formulated a new faith to rid Hinduism of superstition and caste divisions
<i>Swaraj</i>	Complete control over one's affairs; independent statehood
<i>Thakur</i>	Title for a high caste landlord
<i>Zamindar (Zemindar)</i>	Proprietary landholder who paid a fixed annual sum to government
<i>Zamindari</i>	Landlordism; also used to indicate cultivation of land

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME V

This volume—the fifth in the series—reveals the process of consolidation of political power in the former British Indian provinces and the gradual absorption of Princely States into the Indian Dominion. The Sardar is seen using the stick to discipline Congress Premiers, Ministers and legislators, and the carrot to induce the Princes signing the instrument of accession to introduce constitutional reforms in the bigger states and agree to merger with the provinces or to the formation of unions of states in the case of smaller units.

The correspondence makes fascinating reading when judged against the background of the challenges of the time and the culmination of the forces the Sardar set in motion as viewed in the silver jubilee year of Indian independence.

This volume, like its predecessor, deals with developments in 1947 covering both the pre-independence months and those that followed partition. The previous volume dealt largely with the developments leading to the transfer of power and the carnage that accompanied partition. Confident that transfer of power was round the corner, Sardar Patel was faced with two types of problems. In the majority of provinces it was one of watching, guiding and admonishing Congress rulers, but in the sensitive areas of Assam, Bengal and the North West Frontier Province it was one of saving whatever he could from the wreckage caused by the disruptionist tactics of the Muslim League and its allies, the British Governors and officials.

Some Princes read the signs of the time and acted patriotically while some others held back to fish in troubled waters. Advisers like Sir B. L. Mitter in Baroda were in tune with the Sardar's policy, while others like Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Aiyar fell for the Bhopal-Corfield plan to weaken the Indian Dominion by creating independent Princely States. The correspondence throws much light on these dramatic events.

The Assam Congress leaders, headed by Premier Gopinath Bardoloi, were concerned with saving Assam from 'Pakistanisation,' while those in Bengal wanted to save the Hindus in East Bengal from annihilation. Writing to Sardar Patel, Lalmohan Ghose pleaded for an "interchange of population with East Bengal" or
S.C.-V-IV

sending "a strong peace mission to Dacca immediately." The Sardar replied that "the question of interchange of population requires a strong public opinion behind it. I am not quite sure whether public opinion is in its favour."

In a letter to Bardoloi, Sardar Patel said: "Recently I noticed that Mr. Lambert (Central Intelligence officer) made some tendentious reports regarding the attitude of the tribal areas towards Hindus and the Constituent Assembly. I have, therefore, said that we should transfer Mr. Lambert from the present post. I need hardly say that the tribes require very careful handling and any officer having access to tribal areas should not indulge in any partisan propaganda."

The Sardar wanted the surplus rice in Assam to be released for consumption in other parts of the country. Failing to get a positive response, he wired Governor Hydari: "Question of supply of foodstuff to your countrymen cannot be made subject of bargaining. Otherwise you would incur ill-feeling and public anger. I would therefore advise you to release surplus rice forthwith."

Hydari replied: "There is considerable amount of smuggling of rice into Eastern Bengal with which our present administrative machinery is unable to cope adequately and smugglers are paying high prices to cultivators. . . . In view of our procurement agency without such increase they will not be able to obtain rice from cultivators. Floods have aggravated supply position, in that flooded areas have to be reprovisioned. I repeat Bardoloi's assurance that there is no question of bargaining."

Bardoloi did not get on well with the Governor of the province. He represented to Patel that "already the Muslim League has widely circulated that by the appointment of Sir Akbar Hydari [as Governor] the Government of India has allowed Assam to be converted into a Pakistan" and that "Sir Akbar's proposal for settlement of immigrants and other people in the tribal areas in Assam on the north of the Brahmaputra, if agreed to, is bound to be construed as an attempt on the part of the Government of India to convert Assam into Pakistan and is bound to encourage the Muslim League to create disorder and lawlessness in the province as a direct consequence of this action."

Sardar Patel, reacting to Governor Hydari's suggestion that Jalpaiguri be included in Assam, wrote: "I am doubtful whether Assamese themselves would like Bengalis to come in. They have just managed to get rid of them."

A resolution of the Noakhali Relief, Rescue and Rehabilitation Committee refers to "the gruesome state of rape and molestation of women and other bestial barbarities committed by the Calcutta policemen newly imported from the Punjab" and urged the British Governor of Bengal "to immediately intervene in this matter and to publicly declare that these unwanted incumbents would be forthwith removed and their further recruitment stopped."

Mountbatten to Sardar: "I am afraid that interference by Ministers and their parties is all too common in a number of provinces and is causing a steady deterioration both in efficiency and morale. I asked all Governors to impress on their Chief Ministers how essential it was that those in authority should receive their full backing and that good and efficient services can only be obtained if political influence is kept away from them."

When Patel expressed surprise at this indictment and asked for "any particular instances," Mountbatten replied: "At the present time, however, when we have so much to talk about the future of India, I do not think it will be fruitful to go into details in regard to these matters."

But while resenting the sweeping character of the Viceroy's charge the Sardar was himself cautioning Congress Premiers in this regard. He wrote, for instance, to Sri Babu (Premier Sri Krishna Sinha of Bihar): "The key of efficient administration is the sense of security in the service at the top and non-interference by Congressmen or other people connected either with the Congress or with the Ministers in the administration. The Ministers should not give direct orders to any subordinate officers, and they must deal with them through their superiors. . . . The recent police mutiny has exposed the weakness of the administration of your Ministry, and it is generally believed that if any crisis were to come the Bihar Government would not be able to rely upon the police force against the Socialists."

The molasses scandal, which attracted Gandhi's attention and was widely talked about in the country, made the Sardar write to the Premier of Bihar: "It is amazing that such a thing should have happened in such an unseemly fashion. Both the disclosure and the manner of revealing it have brought the Congress organisation in Bihar into disgrace."

In a long letter of indictment, S. K. Patil, chief of the Bombay Pradesh Congress Committee, complained to the Sardar that

"Balasaheb Kher [Premier of Bombay Government] has talked to a dozen persons that I was unfriendly to the Ministry, but when I see him he has not a word to speak about it. Shri Morarjibhai and myself have been pulling on very well indeed. We have no differences. It is very difficult to understand Balasaheb." The Sardar, whose confidence Kher enjoyed, cautioned the Premier thus: "You have the Maharashtra Congress organisation hostile and not hesitating to criticise you publicly. You cannot afford to have the Bombay Committee against you."

In another letter to Kher the Sardar observed: "I do not think we can postpone by-elections. It becomes a scandal if vacant seats to the legislature remain unfilled for long. I would therefore suggest that you proceed with the filling up of these seats."

The Sardar's backing to Premiers Mahtab and Shukla helped them to deal with bickerings within the ruling party, while he let T. Prakasam suffer the consequences of his brand of politics.

The Sardar's outlook on the national scene is reflected in a letter to K. C. Neogy: "We are free to develop 80 per cent of our country in our own way. If we can consolidate our forces, have a strong Central Government and a strong army, we can, during the course of five years, make considerable progress. If we can only make substantial progress in the development schemes that are pending, it would give hope to the country."

In a letter on 15 July 1947 to the Sardar, the Maharaja of Bikaner said: "The fact that one of the most respected and mature statesmen and leaders of your experience and judgment has been chosen [as Minister of States] is, I feel, a happy augury. It is most gratifying to recall that you have always shown a realistic and cordial attitude towards the States. The friendly hand that you have so spontaneously extended to the Princes and States, as evidenced by your recent statement [enunciating the policy of the States Department], is, I need hardly assure you, greatly appreciated by us."

The Maharaja of Indore created a crisis by appointing a European Prime Minister. The Sardar invited the Maharaja to Delhi for talks and succeeded in getting an Indian (N. C. Mehta) to replace the European. But the Maharaja was not entirely happy and wrote to the Sardar on 1 November 1947: "... I had commenced with great hope and very different ideas with Mehta but ... continued experience has made me feel far from happy with him. I shall talk about this personally when I hope to see you early next month in Delhi."

The Sardar wrote to the Maharaja of Devas (Jr.): ". . . I am glad to hear that your Highness contemplates introducing full responsible government within three years. I have no doubt that popular opinion in your state will back you to the full in your efforts to introduce a completely democratic government."

In Rewa, a peculiar situation arose as a result of a rift between the Maharaja and his father, and the Sardar telegraphically advised the Maharaja not to negotiate with his father without letting the Sardar know.

In a letter on 26 August 1947, the Nawab of Bhopal, Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, informed the Sardar of his decision to join the Indian Union and wrote: "During our talk on the 22nd you expressed surprise, at one stage, that I had so much opposed your plan. I do not disguise the fact that while the struggle was on I used every means in my power to preserve the independence and neutrality of my state. Now that I have conceded defeat I hope that you will find that I can be as staunch a friend as I have been an inveterate opponent. I harbour no ill feelings towards anyone, for throughout I have been treated with consideration and have received understanding and courtesy from your side."

In his reply the Sardar wrote: "Quite candidly, I do not look upon the accession of your state . . . as either a victory for us or a defeat for you. It is only right and propriety which have triumphed in the end, and in that triumph you and I have played our respective roles. . . ."

2, Tolstoy Lane
New Delhi 11001
23 November 1972

DURGA DAS

SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE

SARDAR PATEL'S CORRESPONDENCE

CHAPTER I
ASSAM'S TRAVAIL

1

New Delhi
13 January 1947

My dear Abell,

H.E. might be interested in the enclosed copies of extracts from the fortnightly reports which I have received from Assam for the second half of December 1946.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

G.E.B. Abell Esq., CIE, OBE, ICS
Private Secretary to H.E. the Viceroy
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACTS FROM THE FORTNIGHTLY REPORT NO. 24/46 OF
CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE OFFICER, SHILLONG, ON
THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN ASSAM, FOR
THE SECOND HALF OF DECEMBER 1946

Evictions continue slowly and steadily. In order to check propaganda against them which might lead to breaches of the peace, a few arrests have been made. Some of those arrested have obtained their release by furnishing interim bonds to keep the peace. The Muslim League are making arrangements for the defence of the remainder.

In the Mangaldai sub-division the first series of evictions has been completed successfully. As a precautionary measure the entry of the provincial League president and secretary to the sub-division was banned under Section 144 Cr. PC. The League retaliated with a decision to hold a hartal throughout Assam on 3 January as a protest against this latest Congress "atrocities." The influx of new immigrants has slowed down and many are reported to have gone back to Bengal, having seen no hope of being able to settle.

The communal situation continues to show definite signs of improvement though a temporary setback occurred during the visit of "Major"

1

Khurshed Anwar of the All India Muslim National Guard. His speeches were most inflammatory. He urged Muslims to raise a National Guard capable of making any sacrifice for Pakistan and opposing the Assam Government's evictions. He alleged that 70,000 Muslims had been slaughtered in Bihar and said that serious disturbances would continue in India; Muslims should therefore be so armed as to be ready to kill ten Hindus each in self-defence.

The visit of Md. Ismail¹ of the AITUC had a considerably sobering effect on communal passions in areas previously visited by the "Major."

2

New Delhi
15 February 1947

My dear Bardoloi,²

I find that our whole scheme of an all-India administrative service is still awaiting finalisation owing to the attitude taken up by your province in this matter. The two outstanding points are regarding the percentage of posts which could be filled by promotion from the provincial service, and the number of superior posts in your province which should be included in the all-India administrative service.

2. As regards the first point, all the other provinces, including the small and "backward" province of Orissa, have agreed to 25 per cent, and I find it difficult to appreciate why you should be the only one to stick out for more than that percentage. It is obvious that in an all-India scheme like this we cannot have different arrangements for different provinces, and I would, therefore, advise you to fall into line with the other provinces and accept 25 per cent.

3. As regards the second matter, you have probably not realised that it should be almost impossible to provide for the small cadre of 16 which you have suggested. You do not seem to have even worked out the number of superior posts you require, and in the absence of that information it is difficult for me to see how you can maintain that you require only 16 posts and no more. Nor can you give the provincial services a double advantage, namely, reserving a certain percentage of posts and then reducing the number of posts which would be available for the all-India

¹ MP; President, Indian Union Muslim League after independence

² Assam Congress leader and trusted lieutenant of Sardar Patel; headed Congress ministry in 1937-39 and again in 1945

administrative service in your province. I am sure that, when you proceed to working out the number of superior posts you require you will find that those for the all-India administrative service are more than 16. A fairly workable size of your cadre would be at least 40, and it should not be difficult for you to find the 22 superior posts for a cadre of that size.

4. I hope you will consider the matter in the light of my views expressed above and let us have a reply as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Honb'le Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi

3

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
17 February 1947

Hon'ble Gopinath Bardoloi
Prime Minister
Shillong

CONTINUATION MY LETTER DATED 15 FEBRUARY REGARDING ALL INDIA ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES. YOU HAVE ACCEPTED TWO OUT OF FOUR CANDIDATES OFFERED TO ASSAM PRESUMABLY BECAUSE OF YOUR PROPOSAL FOR LESS NUMBER OF POSTS. I HOPE IN LIGHT OF MY LETTER YOU WILL ACCEPT REMAINING TWO.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

4

Constitution House
New Delhi
27 February 1947

Respected Sardarji,

I have seen the letter from the Secretary to the Constituent Assembly wherein you are reported to have approved of the idea of releasing Mr. D. C. Das, Deputy Secretary, Home Department, for his work in the Constituent Assembly only if an ICS is substituted in that place. I could also gather from the note an

implication that the provincial substitute proposed by the Government of Assam was not considered quite the right person for the post. I have already pointed out to you our great difficulty in regard to shortage of officers under the existing arrangements in Assam; six of them have already come to the Government of India, two or three of them have been on leave or are going on leave and with the appointment of two or three of them in Supply and Textile we are indeed very short of ICS officers. We cannot, therefore, think of sparing any ICS officer, and unless you are pleased to make some arrangement here I do not know how we are going to fill up the post of provincial Secretary to the Constituent Assembly from the province of Assam.

It seems to me quite a feasible thing to interchange Mr. Das of your department with another ICS officer from the External Affairs Department and thereby enable Mr. Das to serve as provincial Secretary to the Constituent Assembly in addition to his work in the External Affairs Department in connection with Assam. I hope you will be pleased to [agree to] this as I find that to be the only way in which work in both the departments as well as the work of the Constituent Assembly could be satisfactorily done.

I am of course writing to my Chief Secretary to suggest the name of any other provincial officer with secretariat experience as a substitute for an ICS officer who may be available with the Establishment Officer and who can be sent to the Home Department in place of Mr. Das, but I have grave doubts whether this event will take place.

Yours sincerely,
Gopinath Bardoloi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
28 February 1947

My dear Gopinath,

I have received your letter of yesterday.

I do not know whether the External Affairs Department can spare any ICS officer, but if they can do so I would have no objection to accept the arrangements proposed by you. You can

enquire from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru if it is possible for his department to spare any such officer.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi
Constitution House
New Delhi

6

Jorhat District
Students Congress
2 March 1947

Copy forwarded to the Home Member,
Interim Government of India

Sir,

I have the honour to forward the following resolution passed in the council meeting of J.D.S.C. on 2 March 1947 for necessary action.

I am,
Most obediently yours,
Upen Sarma
Secretary, J.D.S.C.

ENCLOSURE

This council meeting of the Jorhat District Students Congress regrets the internment order imposed upon Rani Guidello after courting a long term of imprisonment and records its strong condemnation for this injustice of the Government unto her and further demands immediate withdrawal of this unfair, unjust and repressive measure adopted against her.

7

New Delhi
16 March 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter conveying to me the resolution of your District Students Congress. Evidently you have passed this resolution without full knowledge of the facts. The order

against Rani Guidello was not passed by the Interim Government, but must have been passed by a State or the Political Department over which the Interim Government has no authority.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Upen Sarma
Jorhat

Camp Birla House
Mussoorie
24 May 1947

My dear Bardoloi,

I understand that Mr. Lambert, our Central Intelligence Officer in Assam, is proceeding on six months' leave and that the Governor has recommended that no substitute should be appointed and the staff should be placed under CIO, Calcutta. Presumably, the intention is that Mr. Lambert should return to his job. Recently I noticed that Mr. Lambert made some tendentious reports regarding the attitude of the Tribal Areas towards Hindus and the Constituent Assembly. I have, therefore, said that we should transfer Mr. Lambert from his present post. I need hardly say that the tribes require very careful handling, and any officer having access to the Tribal Areas should not indulge in any partisan propaganda.

2. Apart from this, I feel that the CIO in Assam should be an Indian. In these circumstances, I hope you will reconsider your reported decision that your Government cannot give any substitute.
3. I am told that there are two officers, Messrs. D. C. Datta and S. M. Datta, quite suitable for the post, though the DIB prefers Mr. S. M. Datta. Any one of them whom you can spare will do.
4. I would, therefore, ask you to re-examine the matter in the light of the remarks I have made above and to suggest a suitable officer from the Assam cadre for this post. I shall await your telegraphic reply. I am returning to Delhi on the 28th morning.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi
Shillong

9

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
28 June 1947

His Excellency Sir Akbar Hydari¹
Shillong

UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE SURPLUS RICE WHICH IS IMMEDIATELY REQUIRED IN OTHER DEFICIT AREAS BUT ABOUT WHICH DIFFICULTIES ARE BEING RAISED. IT IS OBLIGATORY ON YOU RELEASE AS MUCH AS YOU CAN SPARE FOR IMMEDIATE NEED OF OTHER PROVINCES. QUESTION OF SUPPLY OF FOODSTUFF TO YOUR COUNTRYMEN CANNOT BE MADE SUBJECT OF BARGAINING. OTHERWISE YOU WOULD INCUR ILLFEELING AND PUBLIC ANGER. I WOULD THEREFORE ADVISE YOU TO RELEASE SURPLUS RICE FORTHWITH.

VALLABHBHAI

10

TELEGRAM

Kohima
29 June 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR TELEGRAM 28 JUNE REGARDING SURPLUS RICE. MATTER HAS SO FAR BEEN DEALT WITH BY PRIME MINISTER BUT IN VIEW YOUR TELEGRAM I AM NOW TAKING A HAND.

HYDARI

¹ICS; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1945-46; Governor of Assam after independence

TELEGRAM

Shillong
8 July 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

MY TELEGRAM 29 JUNE RICE FROM ASSAM. HAVE ON RETURN FROM TOUR EXAMINED QUESTION. THERE IS CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF SMUGGLING OF RICE INTO EASTERN BENGAL WITH WHICH OUR PRESENT ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY IS UNABLE TO COPE ADEQUATELY AND SMUGGLERS ARE PAYING VERY HIGH PRICES TO CULTIVATORS. WITH THIS AS THE BACKGROUND BARDOLOI HAS INFORMED YOU REASON FOR ASSAM GOVERNMENT WANTING INCREASE IN PRICE. IN VIEW OUR PROCUREMENT AGENCY WITHOUT SUCH INCREASE THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO OBTAIN RICE FROM CULTIVATORS. FLOODS HAVE NOW AGGRAVATED SUPPLY POSITION IN THAT FLOODED AREAS HAVE TO BE REPROVISIONED. I REPEAT BARDOLOI'S ASSURANCE THAT THERE IS NO QUESTION OF BARGAINING.

HYDARI

New Delhi
4 July 1947

My dear Bardoloi,

I have seen a copy of your letter dated 19 June 1947 addressed to Jawaharlal regarding the Bengal and Assam Railway and the necessity of maintaining the existing rail communication between Calcutta and Assam until a new alignment is made. We are alive to both these problems and I personally see little difficulty in making satisfactory arrangements. Pakistan would be up against an even more tough problem in ensuring communication between Dacca and Western Pakistan, and I feel certain that we shall be able to drive a satisfactory bargain.

You must [have got] my telegram of yesterday regarding a referendum.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi
Shillong

13

New Delhi
20 March 1947

Dear Lord Wavell,¹

I am sending herewith a copy of a telegram which I have received from the Assam Premier regarding the situation in that province as a result of the activities of the Muslim League both there and in the neighbouring province of Bengal.

2. I am sorry to trouble you with this almost on the eve of your departure, but I feel that the position is such as cannot be allowed to rest where it is without peril to public safety in Assam. It seems to me anomalous that a party the representatives of which are in the Central Government should indulge in unlawful activities in a province. In the absence of any restraining influence of these representatives on the provincial leaders, the position of our Ministries becomes weakened for assistance from the Centre cannot obviously be as full and effective as circumstances demand while that of agitators becomes stronger for want of sufficiently resolute action. You will recall that in November last when Abell wrote to me on the subject I pointed out that what the Assam Government was doing was in defence of their lawful claims in their own lands and that it was for you to persuade the Muslim League to pursue a different course from that of forcibly securing their unlawful object. What has happened in the Punjab and what is happening in the NWFP should convince you that the so-called non-violent agitation is merely a cover for more sinister activities and designs and that the aim quite clearly is to cause a severe shock to law and order with a view to forcing the provincial Government or Governments to surrender to the League's unlawful demands.

¹ Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1943-47; GOC-in-C, Southern Command, 1938-39; Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, 1939-41; ADC-General to King, 1941

3. In these circumstances, the duty of the Central Government is quite clear and we must give the provincial Government such timely and effective military aid as may be necessary. I am, therefore, requesting the Defence Member to see what can be done to meet the Assam Premier's appeal and hope that you will give all possible support to the Assam Premier in his efforts to deal with a difficult and potentially dangerous situation.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Wavell

ENCLOSURE
TELEGRAM

Shillong
19 March 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ASSAM SITUATION SERIOUS CAUSING GOVERNMENT GREAT ANXIETY. ASSAM MUSLIM LEAGUE AND BENGAL MUSLIM LEADERS PLANNING INVASION ASSAM BY ORGANISED VOLUNTEERS FROM BENGAL. SINCE 20 FEBRUARY LARGE CONCENTRATION OF MEN IN BENGAL BORDERS WITH SPEARS AND LATHIS NEAR DHUBRI SUBDIVISION HAVE ERECTED SHEDS FOR TRAINING VOLUNTEERS. MANY PREDOMINANTLY MUSLIM AREAS IN ASSAM ALREADY INFILTRATED EXCITING PEOPLE TO VIOLENCE AND CREATING DISAFFECTION AGAINST GOVERNMENT. ASSAM MUSLIM LEAGUE DECLARED CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE AND ARE HAVING FREQUENT PROCESSIONS. CLASH INEVITABLE AS TENSION CONTINUES. ASSAM GOVERNMENT'S ARMED STRENGTH NOW POSTED [in] SMALL DANGER AREAS QUITE INADEQUATE MEET SITUATION. PRAY POST AT LEAST A BRIGADE HERE IMMEDIATELY AS ORIGINALLY INTENDED AND DIRECT PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT USING THEM WHEN REQUIRED FOR EMERGENCY. LETTER FOLLOWS.

PREMIER ASSAM

14

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
21 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

H.E. asks me to thank you for your letter of yesterday about Assam, and to say that he is consulting the Governor about the situation.

Yours sincerely,
G.E.B. Abell

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
20 March 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,¹

I am sending herewith a copy of a telegram (see enclosure with No. 13) which I have received from the Premier of Assam. You will recall that last November the Premier protested against the transfer of some military units from Assam and expressed the view that the situation in the province demanded the presence of those troops. The position now, as you must have gathered from the papers and from intelligence reports, is quite critical. There is a definite attempt on the part of the League, both in Assam and in Bengal, to compel the Government of Assam by force to yield to the League's unlawful demands on the question of eviction of trespassers from Government reserves. It is quite clear that this challenge has to be met by the provincial Government if it is to uphold its claim of being a responsible authority. As it is, our position in supporting provincial Ministries is considerably handicapped by the anomaly that we have in the Interim Government at the Centre representatives of the organisation which is indulging in unlawful activities in the provinces. Therefore, if we are wanting in giving timely and effective aid to the Assam Premier in his attempts to deal with a most difficult and potentially dangerous situation, we would be placing the security of the province in serious jeopardy.

2. I do hope, therefore, that in these circumstances you will see your way to meeting the Assam Premier's request. I myself feel that the immediate strengthening of the military force in the area will have a salutary effect on the agitators.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Defence Member
New Delhi

¹ Started political career as Akali leader; Development Minister, Punjab, 1942-46; joined Congress and served as Defence Minister in Nehru Cabinet, 1946-52

New Delhi
9 April 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

I am sending herewith a copy of an extract from a letter which I have received from Bardoloi, the Assam Premier. It appears that the reservation which you made in regard to military aid has been misunderstood by him, and a clarification is therefore necessary. The intention clearly was that military aid should be given when civil forces are unable to cope with the situation, whether it arises out of the eviction policy of the Government of Assam or any other matter, but that it will not be given merely to evict immigrants. If you agree, clarification on these lines may be sent to the Government of Assam.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER DATED 31-3-47 FROM MR. GOPINATH
BARDOLOI TO SARDAR PATEL

We are really grateful to you and Sardar Baldev Singh for the promise of aid of military; but the reservation that has been put to it that it could not be applied for eviction purposes will create difficulties. Most of the troubles will arise out of the Government's policy of maintaining the inviolability of the grazing reserves which was agreed to by all parties, including the Muslim League, as also due to Government's attempt to distribute available waste lands to all including Hindus, Muslims, tribals and the immigrants themselves. If there is any flare-up it will be due to Government's policy to do the right thing to all parties concerned on an economic basis. But the Muslim League only want to settle them with Muslims only and when Government thwart it they go for civil disobedience. It is therefore not known how the maintenance of law and order of the province as a whole could be distinguished for maintenance of law and order in the grazing reserves and waste lands where law and order are proposed to be infringed. I request you to give very careful consideration to the points I have raised herein and clarify by some direction to us and to the military authorities, according to which the distinction may not be maintained.

New Delhi
11 April 1947

My dear Bardoloi,

I have received your two letters and have taken action on each of them.

On receiving the first letter, I got in touch with Baldev Singh and made sure that military aid would be available to you in case of need. He is satisfied that such aid would be ample.

As regards your second letter, in which you wanted an amplification of the statement that troops would not be used for eviction purposes, I have passed on the extract to Baldev Singh with the suggestion that the point may be suitably clarified to convey that military aid should be given when civil forces are unable to cope with the situation, whether it arises out of the eviction policy of the Government of Assam or any other matter, but that it will not be given merely to evict immigrants. I shall let you know the action taken on this suggestion by the Defence Member.

In the meantime, I have had a discussion with your Speaker and Shri Prabhu Dayal.¹ They have also discussed the matter with Gandhiji. You will have our full support in your stand on legal rights. Not an inch of land should be surrendered to the illegal immigrants, and you must stand solidly and firm on the policy which you are implementing. To yield to threats, show of force or any "direct action" would be suicidal and unbecoming of Government with any sense of responsibility.

I have explained these matters to Shri Rohini Kumar Chaudhury,² and he will tell you what we feel about it.

Shri Prabhu Dayal also mentioned to me that you require some two or three good officers. I should like to have further details as to what type of officers you require, of what seniority and for which post. After getting the details, I shall let you know what we can do to help you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi

¹ Congress leader of Assam and Bengal

² Education Minister, Assam, 1937-38 and 1939-41

Shillong
15 April 1947

Respected Sardarji,

Your letter sent per favour of Shriyut Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri has been received by me. Since after I had written to you regarding our conversation with General Renkin, myself and my Home Minister had [another] conversation with General Stuker of Eastern Command in the presence of the Governor, the Inspector-General of Police, the military officer in charge of the Assam Regiment and also the officer in charge of the Assam Rifles. General Stuker repeated almost the same arguments as General Renkin and said that we had dissipated the provincial force, namely, the railway force and the Assam Rifles by distribution in weaker stations and thereby weakening the striking force of the army. To my great surprise, the Governor also joined with him and thought that we should withdraw the few platoons placed in the grazing reserves and concentrate them in particular places. Of course, I most emphatically opposed this idea as these forces also were putting down civil disobedience by mass encroachment in the grazing reserves with show of arms which is only a part of the general policy of the Muslim League. I also explained to him that if the policy was one of prevention of bloodshed and not one of bloodshed, the best way to avert it was by posting armed forces in such areas where disorder was apprehended; and it is only on account of that fact, namely, the maintenance of forces in dangerous areas that a flare-up in these areas has been averted. Concentration in particular areas will only mean that there will be already trouble in these areas such as had happened at Noakhali. Whatever might be from the military point of view, I said that I could not agree to remove them (excepting from one place) from these areas and that the army, if they wanted to give us any help, must give additional forces for the defence of the borders in 4 or 5 places which I have named. After a controversy ranging for more than an hour the General agreed to render whatever help was possible to be given to us. I wanted the Governor by an order in writing to place our specific demands for a brigade; but neither did the

ASSAM'S TRAVAIL

Governor do so in our presence nor did the General agree that such a strength could be immediately made available. As far as I know, it is the Governor who is to requisition, but if the Governor would not act according to the advice of the Ministry, what can we do?

The friends who saw you report that you were considering us to be weak. I boldly say that we have been more than strong considering the forces at our disposal; but if the Government of India cannot have their orders enforced with regard to the requirements of the province, blame should not come to the provincial Government. In the meantime, however, some forces have been given to take route marching in these border areas of Dhubri and they are also placing some platoons (eight) in two other areas in Shillong and Pandu; but it is the military and the Governor who will be the persons in charge of the disposition of the army.

Regarding land policy, we are standing very firm. Maulvi Mohammed Saadulla¹ has expressed to some people that if we show our attitude to discuss with the Muslim League and are prepared to give some land to some whom we were not bound to give according to the terms of the agreement with him, he would advise calling off of the civil disobedience. I have, however, caused it to be known to him that there can be no question of granting any more land beyond what we are bound to give under the agreement, and that so long as civil disobedience remains we cannot actually negotiate with the Muslim League on any issue. We have caused it to be known through the Press that if they withdraw their civil disobedience we might discuss issues for implementing the terms of agreement about which also the charge of the Muslim League is that we have not done so. I hope you will kindly continue to take interest in our affairs in all details. I shall continue to furnish you with information from time to time.

As regards posting of officers, I shall write to you a separate note officially.

Yours sincerely,
Gopinath Bardoloi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

¹ Muslim League leader who became member of Assam Governor's Executive Council before provincial autonomy; Prime Minister of Assam after resignation of Congress Ministry, 1939

PS.

I should have told you that Sardar Baldev Singh wanted us to use the whole Assam Rifles and wanted to replace the same by other troops to guard the frontier. But the Governor, and possibly the General, [are] opposed to the idea.

G. N. Bardoloi

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Constitution House
New Delhi
27 April 1947

Respected Sardarji,

I enclose herewith a copy of my letter to Sir Akbar Hydari on his proposal for the settlement of immigrants and other people in the tribal areas in Assam on the north of the Brahmaputra. The reasons I have indicated in that letter will, I am sure, convince you that any action on that line at this present juncture is bound to be construed as an attempt on the part of the Government of India to convert Assam into a Pakistan and is bound to encourage the Muslim League to create more disorder and lawlessness in the province as a direct consequence of this action. Already the Muslim League has widely circulated that by the appointment of Sir Akbar Hydari the Government of India has allowed Assam to be converted into a Pakistan—a fact which possibly Sir Akbar Hydari does not know.

As a Member of the Interim Government, I earnestly appeal to you to kindly see that no reason whatsoever is given to encourage the forces of lawlessness and disorder in the province, which is already passing through a great ordeal.

Yours sincerely,
Gopinath Bardoloi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

I am sending herewith a copy of the reply he sent immediately after the receipt of the letter.

ENCLOSURE

Constitution House
New Delhi
27 April 1947

My dear Sir Akbar,

Since after you had spoken to me [about] your plan regarding the settlement of immigrants and other people in the tribal areas, I had an opportunity of consulting two colleagues of mine—Honourable Mr. B. K. Das and Honourable Rev. Nichols-Roy on the subject, and they are equally emphatic that this will be the most unpopular and dangerous measure that you could adopt for the province. I am afraid you do not know the sentiments of the people of those areas. Even now they are contesting the rights of the British people to collect taxes from them, and often times [this resulted] in disputes between the Sikkim Government and the British Government. Any attempt at colonisation of those areas during this period of transition will immediately be interpreted as an attempt at conquest, resulting in the creation of hostile elements where we should have nothing but goodwill for them.

Secondly, so far as the Ministry is concerned, with the threat of civil disobedience of the Muslim League, with the ultimate object of the Pakistanisation of Assam, the Ministry will become extremely unpopular and lose its hold on the people altogether if the scheme is even contemplated to be put into action in the near future.

I therefore most earnestly request you to drop this idea for the present. We are really very much perturbed. We fear that even if a scent of this idea gets out the Muslim League will be strengthened in their attempt to create disorder in Assam by their civil disobedience which is already on.

I shall discuss this matter with Sardar Patel and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. If I find an opportunity I shall let you know.

Yours sincerely,
G. N. Bardoloi

Sir Akbar Hydari
New Delhi

New Delhi
27 April 1947

My dear Mr. Bardoloi,

Many thanks for your letter. This is just a hurried note to assure you that except for studying the information that may be available in the records and with the Revenue Minister I shall do nothing till you return to Shillong and we can together probe into matters further. I am keeping an entirely open mind and my talk with you this morning was in the nature of thinking aloud on the subject. I appreciate the difficulties of your Ministry and wish to alleviate them.

It was nice to meet you this morning.

Yours very sincerely,
A. Hydari

Shri G. N. Bardoloi

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New Delhi
13 April 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,¹

I am sending herewith a copy of an intercepted letter which I have received from Assam. This will give you an idea of the preparations which are being made to launch direct action against the Government of Assam. Any further comment on my part is unnecessary. It may be noted that the writer of this letter is a member of the Assam Legislative Assembly and a prominent member of the Muslim League.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

¹ Last Viceroy and British Governor-General of India, March 1947-August 1947; carried out partition of India and transfer of power to India and Pakistan in August 1947; first Governor-General of Independent India, 1947-48

ENCLOSURE

Purba Pakistan Killa
P.O. Mankachar
Dhubri (Assam)
24 March 1947

M. A. Kashem, B.A. (Hons.), MLA
Headmaster
Mankachar H. E. School
Jonab,

At the request of the party I had to painfully leave Shillong without any final scheme and programme. On my way home I had been to Mymensingh to see if Mr. Pathan was there. From there I directly went to Calcutta and met Mr. Pathan and sought their help. At his suggestion I saw the treasurer, Mr. Jasimuddin Sahib and other members of the joint committee and the working committee. Moreover, I tried to contact all the members of Mymensingh and Rangpur districts for their active participation. They all are in favour of the move but it will be mainly monetary help. From the Calcutta League office I booked a trunk call but had no response from Shillong.

A publication in Ananda Bazar Patrika of 8th Chaitra has astonished me. Though the decision of the working committee was ultra vires still we have accepted and as such there is no reason for such ruinous publication. I do hope you will kindly contradict the statement to infuse courage in the people.

As I had not the opportunity of living a detailed scheme of Purba Pakistan Killa [fort], I am sending Maulvi Sarwaral Islam, a prominent League worker, to give you an idea as to the institution. Viewing the need of the community at this juncture, I, in pursuance of a resolution of the joint committee at Bahadurabad, started this killa in the name of Allah. I am at a loss to find means to continue it. Mr. Ghyashuddin Pathan accompanied by Mvi. [Maulvi] Nazir Hussain Khandker, B.L., MLA and Mvi. Paniruddin Ahmed, MLA of Kurigram, visited the killa on the 22nd after addressing a huge gathering in the locality. He of course was kindly ready to advance me some money from their fund but I declined to receive any money direct as it will lead to dangerous consequences. In Calcutta I learnt that Mvi. Mahmud Ali had already accepted two thousand rupees from the committee. I have in writing requested him to make payment only to the chairman, committee of

action, or his agent. He has given after long discussion the gist of their proposal to us which is sent to you for consideration and information. Kindly either communicate direct with the secretary or send your correspondence in a closed cover per bearer so that I may manage to send via Kurigram. Their proposal seems to be quite good as far as preparation of the programme and plan is concerned. This has also done away with chances of difference between the opinion of our provincial committee of action and the joint committee.

Maulvi Nazamul Huq came here yesterday with a copy of the resolution of the committee of action and I am simply astonished to find the contradiction between paper publication and the resolution. In the paper it was announced that civil disobedience will continue, and as such I arranged meetings in each union only with the willing persons. No arrest was made nor fire opened though Sec. 144 was violated. Details you may know from the bearer. If they abstain from arresting what step should we take to court arrest? I am in a position, Allah willing, to send at least 10,000 (ten thousand) persons to court arrest from this killa. Even I can, if you desire, send batches after batches from this killa to Barpeta or Mangaldai at fixed places to occupy waste land. Of course, I cannot exactly give you the number but I think a sufficient number may be recruited if I get timely intimation.

I am very much in favour of guerilla fight specially in the Garo Hills elaka [area]—attacks may be made at different border places of Bengal. I am soon going to that side to ask them to be prepared. The other day I received one telegram from you asking me to attend the meeting of the committee of action on 1 April. Is it a fact that the meeting will actually take place? If so, how can I be present if you do not permit me to court arrest on the way as I am definitely under warrant of arrest though the Hon'ble Premier and the Home Minister gave you contrary information? I would be glad if you kindly let me know per bearer if you really want me there.

Now for opening of another base at Sonahat I would request you to take early steps. At present there being only [one] base the Government has concentrated their attention to this killa. Not only Mr. Peters has been made Additional Deputy Commissioner for Mankachar [but there is also] one senior magistrate, a few inspectors and sub-inspectors with some sections of the Assam Rifles and armed police. I will take up the responsibility of opening it with Mvi. Paniruddin Sahib, MLA of Kurigram. As it has become impossible for me to manage the recurring expenses of this killa, I would request you to authorise me to draw on your behalf from the joint committee an amount to the extent of Rs. 20,000 (twenty thousand) for recurring expenses and non-recurring expenses, an estimate of which is enclosed herewith as it is far easier for me to draw money from Calcutta than

from Shillong. Of course you may kindly consider the question seriously and then let me know what you settle. In case you authorise me, you will kindly send an authority letter per bearer. If you are not in a position to authorise me, you will kindly personally visit the place within a week or so otherwise I shall be undone—already I had to spend five thousand from different funds.

I am fairly well. Hope this will find you in good health and spirit.

With salaams and best regard,

Sincerely yours,
Abul Kashem

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
16 April 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I have received your letter of 13 April, enclosing a copy of an intercept from Assam. I have shown this to the Governor, who would have been glad to discuss it with you had you been here. The letter was written three weeks ago, before the Muslim League conference in Shillong, and although we do not know precisely what transpired there, it seems that the idea of an organised mass invasion has been dropped.

Like you, I deplore these preparations for communal violence, and I very much hope that leaders of all communities will do their utmost to ensure peace in the country. The signing of the truce is a most valuable step in the right direction.

I believe that a suggestion has recently been made by Mr. Saadulla that the Assam dispute might be referred to arbitration.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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TELEGRAM

25 July 1947

From Milsecasm Shillong
To Foreign New Delhi

FOR PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU FROM HYDARI. STATESMAN'S REPORT OF INTERVIEW BY NAGAS WITH JINNAH.¹ UNDERSTAND DELEGATION CONSISTS OF A FEW INDEPENDENT PARTY MEMBERS FROM KHONOMA VILLAGE AND THE ANGA LAND TRIBE SOME OF WHOM RECENTLY RESIGNED FROM NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL. THEY ARE NOT REPRESENTATIVE OF NAGAS AS A WHOLE OR EVEN OF ALL ANGA TRIBE. THIS IS FOR YOUR INFORMATION.

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TELEGRAM

5 August 1947

From Governor Assam Shillong
To Foreign New Delhi

FROM HYDARI FOR PANDIT NEHRU. MY TELEGRAM 25 JULY PAWSEY DEPUTY COMMISSIONER NAGA HILLS TELEGRAPHS AS FOLLOWS BEGINS "ZAPHU PHIZO AND FRIENDS FROM KHONOMA EXCLUDING THE THEVOMA CLAN ARE ENROUTE DELHI TO OPPOSE NAGA NATIONAL COUNCIL. THEY SHOULD BE COMPLETELY IGNORED AS THEY REPRESENT UNIMPORTANT MINORITY."

SUGGEST YOU WARNING MAHATMAJI AND SARDAR PATEL AGAINST GIVING THEM ANY ENCOURAGEMENT. ALSO CONGRESS PRESS SHOULD BE REQUIRED NOT TO GIVE THESE PEOPLE ANY PUBLICITY.

¹ President, All-India Muslim League and first Governor-General of Pakistan

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TELEGRAM

11 August 1947

From Governor of Assam Shillong
To Foreign New Delhi

FOR SARDAR PATEL FROM HYDARI, BARDOLOI AND I FEEL IT DESIRABLE FOR MANY REASONS ESPECIALLY STRENGTHENING OF MINISTRY AFTER RESIGNATION OF THREE MINISTERS WHO COME FROM SYLHET IF WE COULD IMMEDIATELY ESTABLISH JOINT ELECTORATES IN ASSAM WITHOUT WAITING FOR NEW CONSTITUTION. AM I EMPOWERED UNDER SECTION 9(1)(i) AND (2) OF INDIAN INDEPENDENCE ACT TO ISSUE NECESSARY ORDERS? REQUEST FAVOUR IMMEDIATE REPLY AS IF OUR SUGGESTION POSSIBLE IT WOULD HAVE TO BE TAKEN BEFORE 14 AUGUST. I AM TROUBLING AS I HAVE NO CONSTITUTIONAL ADVISER HERE.

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TELEGRAM

13 August 1947

From Home New Delhi
To Governor of Assam Shillong

FOR HYDARI FROM SARDAR PATEL. YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 11 AUGUST REGARDING JOINT ELECTORATES. CONSTITUTIONALLY YOU ARE EMPOWERED TO TAKE ACTION ON LINES MENTIONED UP TO 14 AUGUST.

26

Calcutta
9 June 1947

Most revered Sardarji,

You know much more than anybody else that the illiterate Muslim masses are led by sheer fanaticism engendered by the unprincipled Muslim Leaguers. They have got a hold in the district of Sylhet, as elsewhere in India, due to historic reasons

of which you are fully aware. Unfortunately the referendum is very ill-timed inasmuch as the Muslim feelings in Sylhet have been worked up to a white heat of communal frenzy on the issue of eviction of Muslim encroachers from certain Upper Assam districts. Due to these initial handicaps, the result of the referendum is rather doubtful for the Hindus. The Muslims are in no mood to listen to the voice of reason and the glamour of newly-earned Pakistan would be too strong a temptation for them.

Under the circumstances this moment is hardly a suitable time for fairly ascertaining public opinion on such a vital issue. But since it is an all-India question, it is idle to expect that the referendum in the district of Sylhet would be postponed for a more suitable time, though that would have been more fair. I suppose now there is no other alternative for the Hindus of Sylhet but to prepare themselves to face the referendum with all their earnestness as well as their resources with a determination to defeat the unholy project of transferring Sylhet to Pakistan.

Yours sincerely,
R. N. Choudhury

27

17 June 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 9th instant about the Sylhet referendum.

We fully appreciate the peculiar position of Sylhet, but having regard to the composition of its population and its contiguity to a majority Muslim area, it was impossible to escape from the referendum, if we wished that the same principle should be applied to similarly situated areas in the Punjab and Bengal. If local opinion, both Hindu and Muslim, feels strongly on the subject of partition from Assam, there is nothing to prevent its receiving full expression in the referendum. The future of Sylhet lies in the hands of its own inhabitants, and I would ask you to devote your energies and attention to seeing that its future is not jeopardised by the result of the referendum.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Rabindra Nath Choudhury, B.A., B.L.
Post Box No. 12211, Calcutta

P.O. Kulaura,
District Sylhet
15 June 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I crave your indulgence for intruding upon your valuable time, and my excuse for doing so is the very great danger with which our district of Sylhet is faced today.

At the very outset I may tell you that though in Sylhet district Muslims are in a majority, during the last general election out of the total Muslim votes recorded, about 26 per cent of the votes went in favour of our nationalist Muslim candidates. The total Hindu votes along with this 26 per cent of the Muslim votes represented an overwhelming opinion against any idea of Pakistan so far as Sylhet district is concerned and yet, as ill luck would have it, we have to face a referendum to decide the question whether Sylhet should remain in the Indian Union or be joined with East Bengal.

I beg to approach you today for all the help that lies in your power to give us at this critical juncture.

Our first difficulty is with the tea garden labour population. There are 221 tea gardens in Sylhet district with a labour population of 1,97,272. The labourers have got only one seat in the Assam Assembly and they elect their representative from different zones by rotation. As such the existing electoral roll for the tea garden labourers is confined to one thana only which has a labour population of 30,522 in 30 different gardens of which not more than 11,449 are entitled to vote. The existing electoral roll does not give any scope of voting to 1,66,750 labourers living in 191 tea gardens scattered over the district—the number of actual voters thus deprived of the franchise will not be anything below 50,000.

Whatever may be the device arranged for representation of labourers in the Legislative Assembly there is no reason why all of them should not be given full facilities for expressing their opinion on the question under referendum. Sjt. Jibon Santal, Labour MLA representing these tea garden labourers, has addressed a

memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy praying that a supplementary voters' list may be prepared immediately to give full facilities to all the labourers living in the district for recording their opinion on the matter.

The entire tea labour in Assam including Sylhet is recruited from Bihar, UP., CP, Madras, Orissa and West Bengal—all falling in the Indian Union and none from East Bengal, Sind or the Punjab. It is of utmost importance therefore that they should be given the opportunity to give their full weight in deciding this vital issue of division. I do most earnestly request you to kindly exert all your influence with the Viceroy so that the labourers may get their franchise.

Our next difficulty is with our nationalist Muslim friends. They have expressed their desire to remain within the Indian Union, but the Muslim League is determined to resort to any means as they did during the last election for winning the referendum and it will be extremely difficult for our nationalist Muslim friends to go and record their votes in the face of Muslim League hooliganism unless elaborate measures for maintaining law and order right in the interior villages are adopted by the Government. The provincial Government should be given all necessary help in this connection by the Central Government. And we do rely absolutely on you for this help without which the whole referendum may be meaningless for us.

Our next and the greatest difficulty is about finances. Of course the district will try to help itself as much as possible, but our resources being very much limited and the time at our disposal also being very short, making it impossible for us to approach all the people in the district, we don't know how we can find the huge amount of money that will be required for the purpose unless all India comes to our rescue. And for this financial help we do approach you to take up our cause with the people of the Indian Union. We do like to remain within the Indian Union and it will not be possible for us to do so unless the people of the Indian Union will also kindly extend their helping hand to us. Some of us may soon meet you for the purpose and we are confident that you will very kindly give us all the guidance and help necessary in the matter.

It would inspire our people very much if you could kindly visit the district once at your earliest convenience. We require your guidance in organising our people for the referendum and

the district will remain ever grateful to you if you could kindly spare a few days for our sake.

With best regards,

Yours in the service
of motherland,
Purnendu Kishore Sen Gupta, MLA
Member, Executive Committee,
Indian National Trade Union Congress
and Organiser, INTUC, Surma Valley

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New Delhi
20 June 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 15 June 1947 regarding the Sylhet referendum. I am afraid we shall have to proceed on the existing basis and no further change can be made in regard to the electoral rolls. You can rest assured, however, that every effort will be made from here as well as by the provincial Government to maintain peace during the referendum.

I am sure that if you organise local opinion in the manner it should be, the verdict of Sylhet will be on the right lines. It is futile to ask for assistance from outside. The work has to be and can be done only by local leaders.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Purnendu Kishore Sen Gupta, MLA

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Shillong
29 June 1947

Respected Sardarji,

Although the fate of Sylhet is yet to be decided and the future is very uncertain, the native people of Cachar seem to be very firm in their attitude against going to Eastern Bengal (Pakistan). They are entertaining some doubts and fears that in case the verdict of the referendum goes in favour of Sylhet joining with Pakistan the Boundary Commission might award Hailakandi

thana, from Cachar district, to Pakistan, and they therefore desire that the matter is brought to your notice as early as possible with a view to make you understand the whole situation. It will be seen from the map sent herewith that the yellow marked area which includes Ratabari, Patharkandi, Kulaura, Kamalgunj and Srimangal thanas of Sylhet district are Hindu majority areas and under the terms of reference contained in the Viceroy's statement these thanas should be excluded from the areas of Pakistan (the area of this portion of Sylhet is 1,177 square miles with a population of 521,592).

As regards Hailakandi thana, in which the percentage of Musalmans is 55.3%, it is disconnected from the Muslim majority area by a strip of hilly area in which the Hindu majority is nearly 55%. Therefore the Muslim League can never have any reasonable claim to include Hailakandi within Eastern Pakistan, the Hailakandi PS [police station] being not contiguous to the Sylhet Muslim majority area.

Apart from the above, the natives of Cachar district are determined not to concede to the Muslim League any slice of the district on the following amongst other grounds:

(1) Cachar is a predominantly non-Muslim district, the percentage of Muslims being only 32.6%.

(2) Cachar has her natural boundaries on all sides and never in history was it a part of the Muslim area.

(3) Cachar is a temporarily settled district and its laws and regulations are same as in Assam Valley.

(4) There is a section of Assamese-speaking people in the district also.

(5) Since 1832, that is to say as early as the establishment of British rule, Cachar forms part of the administration of Assam and historically Cachari kings [always] had relationship with the kings of Assam.

Our attitude in strongly supporting the claims of the Hindu majority areas of Sylhet and the entire Cachar district within the Indian Union is also connected with the maintenance of Tripura State within the Indian Union. It will be seen from the map that if of these six thanas at least Kulaura, Barlekha and Ratabari thanas are included within Pakistan, Tripura, in spite of her 70% non-Muslim population, will have to go to Pakistan simply for want of an outlet into the Hindustan area. If, however, Tripura can maintain, by road and rail, connection with Cachar, then

she is safe from fears of Pakistan domination. You might possibly know that Chittagong Hill Tracts has already expressed opinion against [its] inclusion in Pakistan in unequivocal terms and has registered its resolve in favour of inclusion with Assam. It will be seen therefore that in order that Tripura and Chittagong Hill Tracts might have good access to the Union, these thanas, Srimangal, Kulaura, Kamalganj, Barlekha, Patharkandi, and Ratabari of Sylhet district, must be included in the Hindustan Union and must be saved from the clutches of Pakistan. If on the other hand this cannot be done and Hailakandi is to go, then not to speak of Tripura but Lushai Hills, which form part and parcel of Assam, shall also have to be given up.

If you kindly give me some time while I shall be in New Delhi (from 10th July onward till the end of the session of the Constituent Assembly) I shall be able to throw further light on the subject. In the meantime I am sending you the map of the district of Sylhet and Cachar with the adjacent districts of Tripura and Manipur. On the opposite page of the map sheet in print, you will find the percentage of population in different thanas with their respective areas which may be of interest to you. You will also find in type on another sheet some of the points which have been made out by the natives of Cachar.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Gopinath Bardoloi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
3 July 1947

Gopinath Bardoloi
Shillong

YOUR LETTER 29 JUNE. YOU MUST ALL EXERT UTMOST SECURING
REFERENDUM IN FAVOUR RETENTION OF SYLHET IN ASSAM.

VALLABHBHAI

3 July 1947

My dear Gopinath,

I have your letter of 29 June 1947.

I will do my best and send Prabhu Dayal to work for securing votes in favour of the retention of Sylhet in Assam. You must all try your best and not remain indifferent. We cannot afford to ignore the fact that 45 per cent of Hindus are in Sylhet and some of the Muslims are also desiring to remain inside, and therefore our case must not go by default. Your Congress committee must work hard, and before the Boundary Commission some good lawyers from Calcutta should also put Assam's case properly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi
Shillong

TELEGRAM

Shillong
8 July 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR LETTER THIRD. SYLHET REFERENDUM RESULT UNCERTAIN. BOTH
HIMATSINGKA AND MYSELF DID OUR UTMOST.

BARDOLOI

Shillong
8 July 1947

Respected Sardarji,

I enclose herewith a copy of a letter I have written to Sir Akbar for your perusal and for favour of doing the needful.

Yours sincerely,
Gopinath Bardoloi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Shillong
8 July 1947

My dear Sir Akbar,

It was good of you to have sent me the correspondence of Mr. Sundaram¹ in reference to the proposed announcement by the Governor-General in the event of transfer of Sylhet to East Bengal and to have consulted me on the subject. I find two very objectionable features in that and I propose to put them as follows:

In the allotment of seats for the Constituent Assembly in Group A, of the members to be elected to the Constituent Assembly, six seats have been set out for General and two for Muslims. This is unjustifiable both on the ground of population as well as from the point of view of non-Muslim seats in the Assam Assembly. It will be seen that the number of seats which will represent the Muslims are only 15 whereas the number of seats which will represent the non-Muslims (General) will be (30 plus others) 16, making up a total of 46. I am sure it is not the intention of His Majesty's Government or of the Viceroy that none but the caste Hindu seats should get any representation in the Constituent Assembly. In the last distribution of seats three seats were allotted for the Muslims of the whole of Assam and seven seats for the rest. In view of this, I feel it will give rise to a lot of controversy, criticism and ill-feeling among the non-Muslims if the number is in-

¹ K. V. K. Sundaram: ICS; Chief Election Commissioner, Government of India; Secretary, Ministry of Law, 1948-58

creased from (3-2) 1 to 2. I hope this fact will be pointed out to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Secondly, in reference to III at page 5 under Schedule B, I see no reason why the Indian Planting seat should be held to be included in Eastern Bengal. The Surma Valley includes Cachar also, and if facts are investigated it will be found that the largest number of voters of the constituency come from the district of Cachar and not from Sylhet. It would, therefore, be unreasonable to class this seat in East Bengal instead of the same being classed with Assam. I request and pray that you will move to see that these two errors are corrected.

Yours sincerely,
Gopinath Bardoloi

His Excellency Sir Akbar Hydari
Shillong

POSITION OF CACHAR

The district of Cachar can never be tagged with Sylhet on the following grounds:

(i) Cachar is a non-Muslim majority district with a total population 641,181, Muslims being 232,950, i.e. 36% only.

(ii) Cachar has natural boundaries (hills and rivers) on all sides.

(iii) The river Surma and the Saraspur Hill ranges separate Cachar from Sylhet district.

(iv) No area of Cachar district lying along the boundaries is contiguous to any Muslim majority area of Sylhet district.

(v) [It] was never under Muslim domination.

(vi) Cachar is a temporarily settled district, [and its] laws and regulations are the same as those in Assam Valley districts.

(vii) There is a section of Assamese-speaking population in the district of Cachar.

(viii) The district of Cachar is a part of Assam since its conquest by the British in 1832 whereas the district of Sylhet was tagged with Assam in 1874.

The only thana, Hailakandi, in the district of Cachar which has a slight Muslim majority, i.e. 51.5%, also cannot be tagged with Sylhet on the following grounds:

1. It has got its natural boundaries, the Serispore Hills, on the west.
2. It is surrounded by non-Muslim majority areas on all sides.

3. Hailakandi thana lies on both sides of the river Dhaleswari, the western side contiguous to Sylhet boundary lying between the Serispore Hills and Dhaleswari river in Serispore pargana, which [are] non-Muslim majority areas.

4. The Serispore Hills on the west of Hailakandi are a natural barrier against Hailakandi thana being tagged with Sylhet. Besides these the adjoining areas of Sylhet district west [of] the Serispore Hills boundaries are all non-Muslim majority areas.

The small Muslim majority in one portion of Hailakandi thana surrounded by non-Muslim majority areas on all sides can never be amalgamated with the Muslim majority portion of Sylhet district.

Under HMG's declaration of 3 June the question of Muslim majority areas is to be decided by referendum and it is reasonable that the non-Muslim majority areas such as Ratabari, Patharkandi, Barlekha, Kulaura, Kamalganj, Srimangal thanas of the district of Sylhet should be amalgamated with Cachar which is a non-Muslim majority district.

COPY OF D.O. DATED NEW DELHI 25 JUNE 1947, FROM MR. K. V. K.
SUNDARAM TO MR. P. F. ADAMS, SECRETARY TO
THE GOVERNOR OF ASSAM

With reference to paragraphs 13 and 14 of the statement of 3 June, the question arose whether in the event of it being decided that Sylhet district should be amalgamated with the new province of East Bengal, fresh elections would have to be held for choosing representatives of the rest of Assam in the existing Constituent Assembly. Paragraph 14 lays down that such elections will have to be held for Sylhet. Nothing is, however, said in that paragraph about the rest of Assam. Since the total population of the province will be reduced by 30%, and the communal proportion will also be appreciably altered by the transfer of Sylhet district to East Bengal, it has been decided that fresh elections for the rest of Assam should be held simultaneously with the elections for Sylhet district. I enclose a draft announcement by the Governor-General intended to give effect to this decision. It is proposed to issue this announcement as soon as we know that the result of the referendum is in favour of Sylhet district joining East Bengal.

2. I shall be grateful if you will kindly telegraph the Governor's comments, if any, on the draft.

DRAFT ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL ON
REPRESENTATION FOR ASSAM IN
CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

Whereas in accordance with paragraph 13 of the statement by His Majesty's Government, dated 3 June 1947, it has been decided that the district of Sylhet shall be amalgamated with the new province of East Bengal:

Now, therefore, in pursuance of paragraph 21 of the statement, His Excellency the Governor-General is pleased to direct that the following procedure shall be followed for the purpose of giving effect to paragraph 14 of the statement in respect of Sylhet and the rest of Assam:

(1) With effect from the date of this announcement, the members elected by the Assam Legislative Assembly to the existing Constituent Assembly cease to be members thereof.

(2) There shall be elected by the members of the Assam Legislative Assembly representing for the time being the constituencies specified in Schedule A and Schedule B to this announcement (hereinafter referred to as the "A group of members" and "B group of members" respectively) the following numbers of representatives to the existing Constituent Assembly and the new Constituent Assembly respectively according to the principle contained in the Cabinet Mission plan of 16 May 1946, by the method of proportional representation with single transferable vote:

	General	Muslims	Total
A group of members	6	2	8
B group of members	1	2	3

(3) The Governor of Assam shall take such steps as may be necessary for the purpose of holding the elections referred to in paragraph (2) above.

SCHEDULE A

I. The following General constituencies, namely:

Dhubri (Central)
Dhubri (South)
Dhubri (North)
Goalpara (North-West)
Goalpara (South-East)
Barpeta (South)
Barpeta (North)
Nalbari
Kamrup Sadr (North)
Kamrup Sadr (Central)
Kamrup Sadr (South)
Mangaldai (South)

Mangaldai (North)
Tezpur (West)
Tezpur (East)
Nowgong (West)
Nowgong (South-East)
Golaghat (North)
Golaghat (South)
Jorhat (South)
Jorhat (North)
Sibsagar (West)
Sibsagar (East)
Dibrugarh (Central)
Dibrugarh (West)
Dibrugarh (East)
North Lakhimpur
Hailakandi
Silchar

II. The following Mohammedan constituencies, namely:

Dhubri (West)
Dhubri (South)
Dhubri (North)
Goalpara (West)
Goalpara (East)
Barpeta (East)
Kamrup (South)
Kamrup (North)
Nowgong (West)
Nowgong (East)
Darrang
Sibsagar
Lakhimpur
Hailakandi
Silchar

III. The Women's (Shillong) constituency.

IV. The Indian Christian constituency.

V. The following Backward Tribal (Plains) constituencies, namely:

Goalpara (Tribal)
Kamrup (Tribal)
Lakhimpur and Majuli (Tribal)
Nowgong (Tribal)

VI. The following Backward Areas (Hills) constituencies, namely:

Garó Hills (North)
Garó Hills (South)
Shillong
Jowai
Mikir Hills

VII. The Indian Planting (Assam Valley) constituency.

VIII. The Indian Commerce and Industry constituency.

IX. The following Labour constituencies (tea gardens), namely:

Tinsukia (Lakhimpur district)
Nazira (Sibsagar district)
Biswanath (Darrang district)

SCHEDULE B

I. The following General constituencies, namely:

Sunamganj
Habiganj (North)
Habiganj (South)
South Sylhet (West)
South Sylhet (East)
Sylhet Sadr (South)
Sylhet Sadr (North)
Karimganj (West)
Karimganj (East)

II. The following Mohammedan constituencies, namely:

Sunamganj (West)
Sunamganj (Central)
Sunamganj (East)
Sunamganj (South)
Habiganj (North-West)
Habiganj (North-East)
Habiganj (South-West)
Habiganj (South-East)
South Sylhet (West)
South Sylhet (Central)
South Sylhet (East)
Sylhet Sadr (Central)
Sylhet Sadr (North)
Sylhet Sadr (West)

Sylhet Sadr (East)
 Sylhet Sadr (South)
 Karimganj (West)
 Karimganj (Central)
 Karimganj (South)

- III. The Indian Planting (Surma Valley) constituency.
 IV. The Srimangal (Sylhet district) Labour constituency (tea gardens).

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New Delhi
 17 July 1947

My dear Bardoloi,

Please see your letter of 8 July 1947 regarding the reallocation of Constituent Assembly seats between general and Muslim population in Assam.

2. It would not be correct to relate the present distribution to the previous numbers. Assam will now have to be reconsidered as a unit and, having regard to the general [and] Muslim population of 5.54 millions and 1.55 millions respectively, the number of representatives, namely, 6 and 2, is in accord with the procedure laid down by the Cabinet Mission.

3. As regards the Indian Planting constituency, it appears that the number of voters in Sylhet district is 191 as against 54 from Cachar. Have you anything to controvert these figures?

Yours sincerely,
 Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi
 Camp New Delhi

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New Delhi
 15 July 1947

Dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have received a telegraphic reply from the Governor of Assam in regard to the Sylhet referendum. He has given full particulars. There was undoubtedly intimidation, false impersonation and incursion of Muslim National Guards from Bengal. But

it seems clear both from the number of people who voted and the result of the voting that any irregularities that took place could not materially affect the result of the referendum.

There is one important matter to which our attention has been drawn by Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, Prime Minister of Assam. From the 3 June Statement it appeared that such parts of Sylhet district as might be determined by the Boundary Commission would be transferred to East Bengal, this, of course, after the referendum had taken place and the major issue decided. The Parliamentary Bill is not quite clear on this point and it might be said that in case the boundary has not been demarcated by the Commission by 15 August, the whole of Sylhet district will be transferred. Subsequently it might be necessary and indeed it is highly probable that certain parts of Sylhet district will have to go back to Assam after the report of the Boundary Commission. Obviously, this business of transfer and retransfer of territory will produce very great confusion and difficulty and will completely upset the life of the district and surrounding areas. The process of transfer must be a single one after final determination of the area to be transferred. The easiest way to arrange this is to get the report of the Boundary Commission before 15 August.

This question of course arises in a more or less similar form in regard to the notional division of Bengal and the Punjab.

It is not quite clear as to whether the Bengal Boundary Commission will also deal with Sylhet. Presumably, this will be so. The Assam Prime Minister has pointed out that this procedure will not be a happy one, as people from Bengal will not be fully acquainted with, or interested in, Assam. There is, as a matter of fact, a long-standing difference of opinion between the Bengalis and the Assamese, quite apart from any of them being Hindus or Muslims. The Boundary Commission, as nominated, consists of eminent Calcutta High Court judges who naturally will be inclined to view the question more from the point of view of Bengal than of Assam.

I do not know what can be done about this matter. Because of the shortness of time available it might be desirable to have a third Boundary Commission for the Sylhet area, one person representing the Congress and the other the Muslim League, with a chairman. This commission might work in collaboration with the Bengal commission.

Or else, it might be possible to attach two assessors, representing

Assam, to the present Boundary Commission for Bengal. They would only function in so far as the Sylhet area is concerned.

These are just ideas which occurred [to me] and I have not consulted any one about them yet. If you wish, however, you could consult Mr. Gopinath Bardoloi, the Assam Prime Minister, in regard to this matter.

I am attaching a brief note by Sir B. N. Rau¹ pointing out the slight discrepancy between the 3 June Statement and the draft Parliamentary Bill in regard to Sylhet.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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New Delhi
22 July 1947

From
Mong Raja Nanoomah
Mong Chief, Manikcheri, Chittagong Hill Tracts
To
Vallabhbhai Patel
Sir,

I have the honour to forward herewith a copy of the resolution passed at a grand meeting of the hill people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts demanding entire exclusion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts from the Pakistan zone.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
Mong Raja

¹Jurist and administrator; joined ICS, 1910; Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir, 1944-45; India's Permanent Representative to UN; Judge of International Court of Justice

ENCLOSURE

21 July 1947

A meeting of the hill people, all the leading headmen, Khijas, Karbaris was held today at Manikcheri, Chittagong Hill tracts, presided over by Mong Raja Nanoomah, Lady Chief, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The following resolutions have unanimously been passed today:

Resolved that the hill people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts demand entire exclusion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts from the Pakistan zone.

Resolved further that copies of this resolution be sent to His Excellency the Viceroy, His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Rajendra Prasad,¹ Vallabhbhai Patel, Acharya Kripalani,² Jaipal Singh, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookherjee,³ Mr. Atul Chandra Gupta.

Mong Raja
President

¹ Congress leader from Bihar; close associate of Gandhi; lawyer of Patna High Court when he joined Gandhi's satyagraha against British indigo planters in Champaran district, Bihar, 1917; twice President of Indian National Congress; Minister for Food and Agriculture, Interim Government and in first Nehru Government after independence; Chairman, Constituent Assembly; first President of Indian Republic, 1950-62

² J. B. Kripalani: Joined Gandhi in 1917; Congress General Secretary, 1934-46; party President, 1946-47; member of CA, 1946-50; resigned from Congress in 1951; MP intermittently, 1952-70

³ Educationist-politician; Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, 1934-38; Finance Minister, Bengal, 1941-42; member, CA; Minister in first Nehru Cabinet; President, Hindu Mahasabha and founder of Jan Sangh

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New Delhi
28 July 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 22 July 1947. It has given me much pleasure to know that you and your colleagues have taken such a patriotic stand.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Mong Raja Nanoomah
Mong Chief, Manikcheri
Chittagong Hill Tracts

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TELEGRAM

Shillong
20 July 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

LABOUR VOTERS NOT INCLUDED IN GENERAL CONSTITUENCY AND NOW PRECLUDED FROM VOTING IN SYLHET REFERENDUM ACCORDING VICEROY'S LAST DECISION. PRAY CONTACT VICEROY AND SEE THEM INCLUDED.

BARDOLOI

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TELEGRAM

Sylhet
11 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

MINISTERIAL OFFICERS PERMANENT AND TEMPORARY OF SYLHET OPTING SERVE INDIA PASSING ANXIOUS DAYS WANT OF ORDERS FROM

41

PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT. WEST BENGAL DECISION PREFERRED.
KINDLY TAKE SUITABLE STEPS.

GENERAL SECRETARY

ALL-ASSAM

MINISTERIAL OFFICERS ASSOCIATION

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TELEGRAM

Shillong

15 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

MY TELEGRAM DATED 11 AUGUST AGREEMENT WITH FEDERATION
KHASI STATES. GRATEFUL FOR EARLY REPLY.

HYDARI

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi

18 August 1947

FOR HYDARI FROM SARDAR PATEL. YOUR TELEGRAM 11 AUGUST
AGREEMENT WITH FEDERATION KHASI STATES. REGRET DELAY.
HOPE TO SEND CONSIDERED REPLY IN COUPLE OF DAYS.

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Government House

Shillong

15 December 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I hope you received my letter of 5 December written on my
return from Delhi. It related to Tripura and Manipur. This
relates to the Khasi States.

On 2 December I informed the representatives of the Khasi
States Federation that I had brought with me from Delhi the
Instrument of Accession which incorporated the agreement reached

by them with me in July this year and that they should now sign it. It was accordingly agreed that all the siems [head of a tribal clan] should assemble here on the 15th and individually sign the instrument. The meeting took place this morning, and I reported to you the result by telegram, as in the copy enclosed, addressed to Cuttack. With 20 out of the 25 heads of Khasi States signing, the back of any dissident movement must be deemed to have been broken. This is not to say that Nichols-Roy on one side and Abdul Matin Chaudhury¹ on the other (strange bedfellows!) will not try to keep the agitation pot boiling for as long as they can. That various underhand forces had been at work between 2 December and 15 December is shown by the fact that this morning's proceedings at one time seemed likely to break; for, three of the principal siems, i.e. those of Myllem, of Khyrim and of Cherra, (the last-mentioned borders on East Pakistan and he holds some land in Sylhet) refused to sign and wanted more time to "consult their people." I made them realise what the consequences of not signing would be, and after nearly an hour's confabulation among themselves they signed. The rest was easy.

Some time back I asked the Central Intelligence officer (S.M. Dutt) to let me have a report on the activities of Abdul Matin Chaudhury as I suspected his prolonged sojourn in Shillong. A copy of his report is enclosed. I think it contains fairly reliable information.

As regards Nichols-Roy, I recommend that he should be removed from ministership. I know that Bardoloi thinks that he will be more dangerous out of office than in office. At one time I subscribed to the view, but now I am of the opinion that the disadvantages of his continuing in the Ministry outweigh the advantages. He is widely disliked and discredited. He is not even a good executive and is an obstacle to our putting some pep into the provincial PWD which it sorely needs if we are to keep to our programme of necessary road construction. I realise that the elimination of Nichols-Roy cannot be brought about at once, but I am putting the matter in your mind to enable you to think over ways and means.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Hydari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

¹A leader of the Muslim League in Assam and a member of Central Legislative Assembly

ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

15 December 1947

Sardar Patel
Camp Cuttack
Orissa

GLAD INFORM YOU TWENTY OUT OF TWENTYFIVE KHASI STATES SIGNED INSTRUMENT OF ACCESSION THIS MORNING IN MY PRESENCE. OUT OF REMAINING FIVE THREE ARE ILL AND WILL SIGN IN THEIR HOMES. AM SUMMONING THE OTHER TWO TO WHOM SUMMONS HAVE PROBABLY NOT REACHED.

HYDARI

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New Delhi
21 December 1947

My dear Hydari,

Thank you for your letter dated 15 December 1947. I received your telegram regarding Khasi States when I was at Nagpur, the day that we succeeded in getting the integration through from the Orissa and Chhattisgarh States. The news of the Khasi States therefore came on a day on which it seemed we were in luck. I congratulate you on the success which you have achieved in regard to Khasi States and would like to say that we feel that the happy result was due to the skill and ability and tact with which you conducted the negotiations.

As regards Nichols-Roy and Abdul Matin Chaudhury, I am looking into the matter.

Regarding your letter of 5 December, I am glad that the preliminary arrangements in Tripura have gone off so well and that you won a signal success again in Manipur. S. N. Ray created some difficulties about remuneration and I had therefore to ask the Bengal Government to recommend another officer. They recommended Mr. A. B. Chatterjee, but I hope he has joined by now. I should like to know what your appreciation of the latest situation in Tripura is. His Highness the Maharaja of

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Panna mentioned to me, and I also agree that it would be a good thing if we could make use of Maharajkumar Dev Burman, the grand uncle of the present Maharaja, who is at present Vice-President of the Council of Regency. I hope you will bear this in mind.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Akbar Hydari
Shillong

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Government House
Shillong
25 August 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Thanks for your letter dated 21 August regarding Tripura State. It is really a question of communications, because if we have reasonable good communications between Assam and Tripura I could in time of need give requisite assistance to the State. As you know, your Government have substantially accepted my proposals for an increase in the strength of the Assam Rifles, which is a semi-military force under the Governor's direct control. The additional platoons now sanctioned are being raised and plans are being prepared, which will shortly be submitted to the Union Government, for their proper equipment. I should therefore have a reasonably big force of men trained for this particular type of country and be able to give speedy assistance to authority menaced by external pressure or internal troubles. I had such possibilities at the back of my mind when making the proposals for an increase in the strength of the Assam Rifles.

2. Now for communications. We have first to get our road communications from Shillong to Silchar, now that we have lost the road communications through Sylhet. For this purpose, I have already obtained [Bishnuram] Medhi's (Finance Minister) concurrence to a road which, after consultation with my own staff and the local military authorities, I propose should be built during the next few months from Shillong to Silchar (headquarters of Cachar district) via Jowai, Garampani and Haflong; and as second priority another road branching eastward from Haflong to Kohima. The advantages, both from the economic and the

security point of view of these roads, are obvious. As regards our communications beyond to Tripura, it is fortunate that the Boundary Commission awarded us the four eastern thanas of Sylhet which are now to be incorporated in Cachar district; for, there is already a road from Karimganj to Patharkandi, and from the latter place to very near the Tripura border. There are possibilities of alternative or complementary roads from Badarpur and Silchar through the Lushai Hills to points on the Tripura frontier, which are low down the point at which the road from Karimganj and Patharkandi would strike the frontier. Experts will have to be asked to do a quick survey for our consideration and then we could take a final decision. My own preference for our immediate purposes would be to get the Karimganj-Patharkandi road extended quickly to the Tripura frontier and get the State authorities to construct a road in their territory to meet it. This has the advantage of our being able to drive a road to the Tripura frontier during the next few months and at small expense to us; for the bit of country on our side through which there is no road is very short.

3. As you know, we in Assam are very short of technical assistance of all kinds and our PWD (Roads) is poor and is not helped by the fact that the Rev Nichols-Roy, the PWD Minister, is not a good executive. I have therefore enquired from the local military authorities whether Army HQ would lend us units of the Indian Engineers for supervision purposes in constructing the Shillong-Haflong-Silchar road. If they undertake to do that, I think with prodding on my part we could get the proposed road to Silchar, and the extension of the Karimganj-Patharkandi road to the Tripura frontier also, done during the winter 1947-48.

4. Simultaneously we must of course energise the Tripura administration and get them to do their bit. From that point of view, as well as from many others, it would be a good thing if the Governor of Assam were to be your agent for Tripura, as he is for Manipur. For my part I shall gladly accept this responsibility if you wish to lay it on me.

5. The expenditure on the Shillong-Haflong-Silchar road should, I think, be shared as between the military authorities and the Provincial Government; because that, as well as the proposed road from Haflong to Kohima, would be of considerable military value in time of trouble on India's eastern frontier or further down south. The same principle could be applied to the extension from Patharkandi to the Tripura border. In so far as

the province is concerned, it should be allowed to meet its share from the Reconstruction Grant or the Road Fund, whatever the experts of the Union Ministry of Finance decide. I now await your decision in the above matters. Unfortunately, Bardoloi is away in Delhi, so I cannot consult him; but I have little doubt that he will fall in with the views I have expressed; as I have already stated, Medhi is agreeable to the Shillong-Silchar road.

6. I am sending this letter to you through my ADC, Captain Rashid Yusuf Ali, 4th Rajputs, whom I am sending to Delhi to push various other matters through for my Government. He knows all the details about my above proposals; in fact, it is he who has worked them out in consultation with the local military authorities. If you are not able to see him when he delivers this letter and then want to see him later, H. M. Patel¹ will have his address.

7. Now for a passing remark on another subject. With Jalapair cut off from West Bengal by a block of Pakistan, the commonsense course would be to attach it to Assam with which its boundaries march. That and Cooch Behar would improve and render safe the Indian Union's communications with her eastern frontier. But I suppose with Sarat Bose² on the warpath and the Bengalis already howling for more territory in place of what they have lost to East Bengal, commonsense must stand down to emotion and so we had better not raise this subject just now!

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Hydari

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

I am sorry for the length of this letter but I thought I had better give you a full picture.

A.H.

¹ ICS; Director-General, Supply Department, 1942-43; Secretary to Cabinet, 1946-47; Defence Secretary; Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance, Government of India; Member, Lok Sabha

² Sarat Chandra Bose: Leading Congressman of Bengal; elder brother of Subhas Chandra Bose; member, Interim Government headed by Nehru

New Delhi
30 August 1947

My dear Hydari,

Thank you for your letter of 25 August 1947, which I received through your ADG.

2. I am glad to know that the proposed strength of the Assam Rifles will meet your requirements even when you have to include Tripura State within the area of protection.

3. As regards communications, I am so relieved to hear that you have already started in right earnest to deal with the situation. The proposals which you have suggested seem to me *prima facie* eminently satisfactory, and I hope you will succeed in obtaining the necessary technical assistance from the local military authorities. I am also initiating at this end proposals for assisting on the technical side. The question of sharing of cost can be settled when the project has been reported upon from the survey point of view.

4. As regards your being the agent for Tripura, I am asking Menon¹ to look into this question. We shall probably have to consult Tripura State, but I do not anticipate any difficulty.

5. As regards Jalpaiguri, the position is very delicate. I am doubtful whether the Assamese themselves would like Bengalis to come in. They have just managed to get rid of them. I, therefore, agree with you that we had better not raise it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Sir Akbar Hydari
Shillong

¹ V. P. Menon: Reforms Commissioner during Viceroyalty of Wavell; Secretary, Ministry of States, July 1947-October 1948 and December 1949-May 1951; Adviser, Ministry of States, October 1948-November 1949; Governor of Orissa; played important role under Sardar Patel in integration of Princely States

New Delhi
7 September 1947

My dear Hydari,

With reference to our correspondence regarding communications with Tripura State, please see the enclosed copy of the minutes of a meeting held by the Ministry of Defence on 5 September. I am asking Menon to look into the matter from the point of view of the Ministry of States so that we can come to a very early decision.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Akbar Hydari
Shillong

ENCLOSURE

A meeting was held at 3 p.m. on 5 September 1947 in the Defence Secretary's room to consider the question of:

- (a) strategic communications on the Assam border, and
 - (b) communications in Kutch.
2. A letter dated 25 August 1947 from H.E. Sir Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam, and a letter dated 16 August 1947 from Mr. Manu Subedar¹ formed the basis of discussion.

3. The following attended the meeting:

Mr. G. S. Bhalja, Secretary, Ministry of Defence (in the chair).
Mr. Bhanda, Financial Adviser, Military Finance.
General Bucher, Chief of Staff (India).
General Steedman, Engineer-in-Chief (India)
Sqn. Ldr. Satyanaran, Air HQ (India).
Mr. Y. Sukthankar, Secretary, Ministry of Transport.
Mr. McElvie, Chief Engineer, Roads, Ministry of Transport.
Mr. Cochrane, Deputy Chief Engineer, Ministry of Transport.
Mr. Khub Chand, Deputy Secretary, Ministry of Defence.

¹ Economist; member, Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee; President, Indian Merchants Chamber, 1935; MLA (Central)

4. Opening the discussion Mr. Bhalja observed that the Governor of Assam had given much thought to the question of communications in Assam and made out a case for a subsidy from Central revenues in view of the strategic importance of the Shillong-Silchar, Haflong-Kohima and Karimganj-Patharkandi roads. Apart from opening up the country, these roads would enable troops to be deployed in the defence of the province of Assam. He invited discussion on the strategic and constructional aspects of the proposal of the Governor of Assam.

5. General Bucher observed that better communications in Assam were needed for:

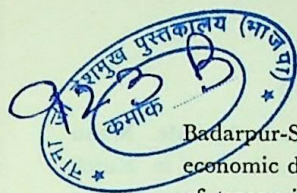
- (a) the peacetime job of the Army to assist the civil authorities in maintaining internal security, and
- (b) meeting the danger of external aggression.

At present road communications in Assam were so poor that he would find it extremely difficult to move troops to Silchar, Tripura and other neighbouring districts if malcontents created trouble. He was not thinking in terms of external aggression immediately, but as a long-term strategic policy it was essential that Assam should have roads well-set behind the frontier. In fact, the province should have roads running parallel to the frontier so that troops could be deployed across the length and breadth of the province. He was prepared to consider alternative alignment of roads from a purely constructional point of view. Mr. McElvie, (Ministry of Transport) pointed out that there were stupendous engineering difficulties in constructing a road connecting Shillong with Silchar via Jowai, Garampani and Haflong and in connecting Haflong with Kohima. In his opinion the construction of this road might well take 20 years. He suggested consideration of an alternative road connecting Shillong with Silchar via Dawki, Jaintipur and Badarpur.

6. This road was comparatively free of constructional difficulties and would be not only shorter but less expensive. The Ministry of Defence, however, felt that this road would not be of much strategic importance as it was situated very close to the East Bengal frontier. While it was possible to blow up the Shillong-Dawki road to make enemy movement difficult it would, at the same time, cut off the southern districts of Assam as well as the Indian state of Tripura from Shillong and the rest of Assam. The Dawki-Badarpur-Silchar road was important, however, for internal security, but it could not be classified as a strategic road for the defence of Assam.

7. After discussion the following decisions were taken on the proposals made by the Governor of Assam:

- (1) The Assam Government should be asked to consider the immediate construction or resurfacing, where necessary, of the Dawki-Jaintipur-



Badarpur-Silchar road. This road was primarily intended for economic development although it would be useful for the movement of troops in aid of the civil authorities. This road should be a charge on the provincial revenues.

- (2) Shillong should be connected with Jowai by a national highway. This road is needed not only for economic development, but also for strategic reasons. The extent to which the Central revenues should contribute towards the construction of this road should form the subject of separate discussion.
- (3) The construction of a road connecting Jowai with Silchar via Haflong as a national highway should be considered as a long-term measure. This road was of considerable strategic importance, but it would take some years to build.
- (4) The Provincial Government should be asked to build a road connecting Jowai with the Dawki-Badarpur-Silchar road at a point north-east of Jaintipur.
- (5) While the Haflong-Kohima road would be useful in developing that part of Assam, it would not be of immediate strategic importance in view of the altered defence requirements of India.
- (6) The Provincial Government should be asked to connect Karimgani with Patharkandi as a provincial road. The Ministry of States should take up with Tripura the question of providing road communications in that State, linking it up with the Karimganj-Patharkandi road.
- (7) The E-in-C (India) and the Assam PWD should take up joint reconnaissance of the Shillong-Jowai and the Jowai-Jaintipur roads. The reconnaissance should be pushed on as quickly as possible and should, apart from purely constructional aspects, report on the time it would take to build the roads and the capital outlay. Discussions may take place later in Shillong regarding the Jowai-Haflong-Silchar road.
- (8) The Ministry of Defence should address the Governor of Assam on the subject in consultation with the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of States.
- (9) General Bucher mentioned that it was necessary to revise the definition of the term "national highway" in view of the altered position consequent on the creation of Pakistan. Roads were now needed in parts of the country to meet external aggression as well as internal unrest. Roads needed for meeting external aggression should ipso facto be classified as national highways. The Defence Secretary requested the Ministry of Transport to reconsider the position.

The committee then considered the suggestions made by Mr. Manu Subedar regarding improvement of road and rail communications in Kutch and the development of the port of Kandla. Mr. Sukthankar stated that while it was considered necessary to develop a port on the west coast of India the question of comparative importance of the various ports which could be developed required careful examination. This was largely a technical question, and the Ministry of Transport were already examining it and would, no doubt, take into consideration the proposals made by Mr. Manu Subedar. The Defence Secretary suggested that the Ministry of Transport should keep the Ministry of Defence fully in the picture so that the strategic importance of communications in Kutch could be kept in mind.

6 September 1947

Khub Chand
Deputy Secretary

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TELEGRAM

18 September 1947

From Governor, Assam, Shillong
To Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

FOLLOWING FOR SARDAR PATEL FROM HYDARI. MANY THANKS FOR YOUR DESPATCH OF MINUTES OF DEFENCE MINISTRY MEETING 5 SEPTEMBER REGARDING COMMUNICATIONS ON ASSAM BORDER. THEIR CONCLUSIONS ARE BASED ON A MISAPPREHENSION AND ARE [INVALIDATED] BY FACT THAT ROAD DAWKI-JAINTIPUR-BADARPUR-SILCHAR RUNS THROUGH PAKISTAN. A NEW ROAD JUST NORTH OF THE FRONTIER WOULD BESIDES BEING STRATEGICALLY VULNERABLE PRESENT ENGINEERING DIFFICULTIES FAR GREATER THAN ROAD JOWAI-HAFLONG. I HAVE ALREADY REPLIED TO ARMY HQ IN MY TELEGRAM OF 15 SEPTEMBER, A COPY OF WHICH I HAVE SENT YOU WITH COVERING AIRMAIL LETTER OF THE SAME DATE. I ADHERE TO MY ORIGINAL [PROPOSALS] WHICH WERE MADE AFTER CONSULTATION WITH MEN WHO KNOW GROUND AND SUGGEST DESPATCH OF MILITARY ENGINEERS RECONNAISSANCE PARTY TO SURVEY ROAD JOWAI-HAFLONG. ROAD SHILLONG-JOWAI ALREADY SURVEYED AND UNDER CONSTRUCTION.

TELEGRAM

20 September 1947

From Governor of Assam, Shillong
To Ministry of Home Affairs, New Delhi

FOLLOWING FOR SARDAR PATEL FROM HYDARI. CONTINUATION MY TELEGRAM 18 SEPTEMBER. AS FIRST STEP CABINET HAVE APPROVED SURVEY AND CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS 1. SHILLONG-JOWAI-GARAMPANI-HAFLONG-SILCHAR. 2. RAHA-LUMDING-DIMAPUR. WE NOW AWAIT ARRIVAL OF MILITARY ENGINEERS RECONNAISSANCE PARTY BEGINNING SURVEY IN THIS CONNECTION. PLEASE ASK THEM TO REPORT TO ME.

Lake House
Shillong
20 September 1947

Revered Sardarji,

Permit me, please, to trouble you with a matter which vitally concerns our province.

Probably, Mr. Bardoloi, out of fatigue or some reasons, thinks of laying down his prime ministership soon. My considered opinion is that in the present circumstances he should continue the prime ministership or there may be disintegration in the Congress party in the Assembly and outside. I trust you are aware of the various problems which are facing Assam, and I may also mention that Assam has hills, plains, tribals and all sorts of special problems for her. It will be unwise to change horses in midstream. We require him in the province. In the Constituent Assembly, after what has been already done and will be done by the time the decision is made that one cannot sit both in the Central and Provincial Assemblies, practically nothing will be left to be done by provincial members. Then, at that time, Mr. Bardoloi should resign from the Central Assembly and continue to carry on the Prime Minister's work vigorously, at any rate till the next general election. I request he may not be permitted

to resign premiership before the next general election. Hoping to be excused for troubling you and with best wishes and kind regards to you,

Fraternally yours,
Debeswar Sarmah¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

¹ Chief whip of Congress party in Assam Legislative Assembly; Dominion Agent to Manipur State

CHAPTER II
POLICE TERROR IN BENGAL

51
TELEGRAM

Uttarpara
15 February 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Member India Government
New Delhi

PLEASE STOP PROPOSED NINETY CRORE SUBVENTION TO BENGAL GOVT.
HINDUS SERIOUSLY ALARMED IF GRANTED. IT WILL [mean] MOSLEMI-
SATION OF ALL BENGAL.

SYAMAPRASAD MOOKERJEE

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TELEGRAM

Calcutta
9 April 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

FURTHER UNWARRANTED MUSLIM POLICE OPPRESSION ON BENGALI
HINDU MEN AND WOMEN. PAPERS SENT. IMMEDIATE ACTION SOLICITED.

NEW BENGAL ASSOCIATIONS

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TELEGRAM

Calcutta
12 April 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

THE BENGAL GOVERNMENT DESPITE REPEATED REQUESTS WANTS TO
CONTINUE AFTER SHORT ADJOURNMENT ASSEMBLY SESSION FROM 18th

INSTANT TILL JUNE ACCORDING TO INFORMATION AVAILABLE NOW. INTENDS RUSHING THROUGH MANY HIGHLY COMMUNAL AND CONTROVERSIAL MEASURES IN PRESENT TENSE ATMOSPHERE. TWELVE BENGAL ASSEMBLY MEMBERS ARE ALSO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY GENERAL MEMBERS OUT OF WHOM TEN BELONG TO OUR PARTY. ALL SUCH MEMBERS WILL HAVE TO BE ABSENT FROM BENGAL ASSEMBLY TO ATTEND CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY SESSION. EXTREMELY UNFAIR IF ASSEMBLY SITTINGS NOT ADJUSTED IN ACCORDANCE WITH CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY SITTING. WROTE GOVERNOR REQUESTING PROROGATION WHICH IS UNDER CONSIDERATION. SEEK YOUR INTERVENTION.

KIRAN SHANKAR RAY
LEADER CONGRESS ASSEMBLY
PARTY BENGAL

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TELEGRAM

POSITION CALCUTTA CITY SIMPLY INTOLERABLE. CITY POLICE COMMUNALISED. DEPUTY COMMISSIONERS OF NORTH AND SOUTH DISTRICTS ARE MUSLIMS. MUSLIM NATIONAL GUARDS PERMITTED TO POLICE THE MAIN THOROUGHFARES CAUSING GREAT APPREHENSIONS. HINDUS IN VARIOUS AREAS BEING PERSECUTED AND TORTURED. MUSLIM HOOLIGANS NOT BEING ARRESTED NOR PROPERLY DEALT WITH. MILITARY NOT YET CALLED OUT SITUATION DETERIORATING. PRESS GAGGED AND NEWS NOT REFLECTING REAL SITUATION. UNLESS CENTRE INTERVENES AND TAKES IMMEDIATE STEPS APPREHEND SERIOUS DISTURBANCES THROUGHOUT BENGAL ESPECIALLY IN EASTERN DISTRICTS.

N. C. CHATTERJEE¹
PRESIDENT HINDU MAHASABHA

¹Senior Advocate, Supreme Court of India; Member, Lok Sabha

Noakhali
19 April 1947

Dear Sir,

I beg to forward herewith a copy of the resolutions adopted in a meeting of the Noakhali District Congress Committee held on 18-4-47.

Yours faithfully,
Benod Behari Sen

The Secretary
All India Congress Parliamentary Board
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Noakhali

RESOLUTION No. I

Whereas the present Muslim League administration in Bengal is being carried on with the deliberate object of carrying out the Muslim League programme of direct action and, thereby, strengthening the fight for Pakistan at the cost of the lives and properties of the minority communities and the honour of the womenfolk, this meeting expresses its want of confidence in the present Ministry.

In this state of things, the Noakhali District Congress Committee urges upon the Congress authorities to ask the Congress members of the Bengal Provincial Legislatures to resign forthwith therefrom and to chalk out a definite programme of action against the present administration for its overthrow.

RESOLUTION No. II

This committee is definitely of opinion that the Governor of Bengal has lamentably failed in the discharge of his special responsibilities for the protection of the minorities and as such this committee urges on the Governor-General and the members of the Interim Government to intervene in the affairs of the Bengal Provincial Government.

New Delhi
23 April 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter dated 19th instant along with a copy of the resolutions of your committee. I do not know whether your committee is serious and whether they have weighed the consequences of any action that may be taken in order to give effect to these resolutions. I do not think that what has happened in Noakhali during recent months would have happened at all if your committee had the strength of putting into effect such resolutions. It is, therefore, hard for me to believe that there is any seriousness in this affair. If these resolutions mean a mere bluff it is sure to injure the cause of the people of Noakhali. If the committee means business I would like to know the plan of action that is contemplated.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Benod Behari Sen
Secretary, Noakhali District Congress Committee
Noakhali (Bengal)

15 Clive Row
Calcutta
21 April 1947

Dear Sir,

As directed by the committee I am sending to you copy of a joint statement issued by Mr. N. C. Chatterjee, M.A., BAR-AT-LAW, president, Provincial Hindu Mahasabha, and Mr. K. N. Dalal, president, Noakhali Rescue, Relief and Rehabilitation Committee, regarding the present situation in the district of Noakhali after making an extensive tour in the affected areas, for your information.

Yours faithfully,
Asstt. Secretary
Noakhali Rescue, Relief and
Rehabilitation Committee

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Noakhali Rescue, Relief
and Rehabilitation Committee
15 Clive Row
Calcutta

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMITTEE ADOPTED ON 18 APRIL 1947

The gruesome acts of rape and molestations of women and other bestial barbarities committed by the Calcutta policemen newly imported from the Punjab, have forced even the most peace-loving citizen towards a point of desperation. The animal behaviours of these uniformed goondas as manifested at Jugipara Lane and 100 Harrison Road have only justified the public apprehensions that were expressed at their motivated importation from the Punjab. The committee therefore demand that an enquiry be immediately made jointly by the non-communal officials and eminent non-officials of the aggrieved community into these dastardly acts and to make arrangements for meting out exemplary punishments to the culprits. The committee further demand that these unwanted recruits from the Punjab be forthwith removed from service and from the province.

As the committee have found that the presence of the newly recruited Punjabi Muslim sepoys in the Hindu areas creates a sense of terror-rather than of security, they demand that the rate-payers' money must not be wasted on the recruitment of these men. The committee therefore record their emphatic protest against the ominous advertisements that are being issued by the Commissioner of Police for recruitment of the Punjabi Muslims as sepoys in the Calcutta Armed Forces. The committee request His Excellency the Governor of Bengal to immediately intervene in this matter and to publicly declare that these unwanted incumbents would be forthwith removed and their further recruitment stopped. The committee in the last place must reiterate that the communal Ministry of Bengal by importing these beastly elements in Calcutta's police force have once more proved that they have no right to remain in charge of administration of the province as a whole.

Resolved further that the views herein expressed be intimated to His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, the Chief Minister of Bengal, His Excellency the Governor-General of India and to the Vice-President and the Home Minister of the Government of India.

TELEGRAM

Calcutta
29 April 1947

His Excellency the Viceroy
Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Kiranshankar Ray, Canning Lane
Surendramohan Ghosh
Constitution House
New Delhi

COMMUNAL TROUBLES IN CALCUTTA CONTINUE UNABATED. SITUATION IN THE MOFUSSIL ALSO FAST DETERIORATING. PRESENCE OF CONGRESS MEMBERS OF BENGAL LEGISLATURE ESSENTIAL IN THEIR CONSTITUENCIES. MANY MEMBERS ABSENT FOR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. FAR-REACHING BILLS OF HIGHLY COMMUNAL AND CONTROVERSIAL NATURE BEING RUSHED THROUGH THE LEGISLATURES WITHOUT PROPER NOTICE AND ADEQUATE CONSIDERATION. SITUATION WILL GROW WORSE IF THESE BILLS BE TAKEN UP NOW. CONGRESS MEMBERS OF THE BENGAL ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL SOLICIT YOUR EXCELLENCIES IMMEDIATE INTERVENTION FOR PROROGUING THE HOUSES.

A. K. GHOSH

GENERAL SECRETARY CONGRESS ASSEMBLY PARTY

BEJOYSINGH NAHAR

SECRETARY BENGAL CONGRESS COUNCIL PARTY

Calcutta
23 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have the highest admiration for the manner in which you are conducting the affairs of India from the Centre at this most difficult and critical time. We all feel that it is only with your clear vision and farsighted leadership that India can hope to steer through the difficult present.

I was at Delhi last week but I did not disturb you. I knew that you would be extremely busy. We are all anxious that the stand you have taken should be maintained as in that alone we find any gleam of hope for the future.

Calcutta is passing through anxious times. There is genuine apprehension that Muslims will attempt destruction of property on a vast scale. The policy and actions of the Ministry only aggravate the disconcerting and panicky feeling. Even at this most critical time, we find Bengal devoid of clear leadership. Unfortunate confusion is created by the existence of many leaders each ploughing his lonely furrows. It is imperative that the peace and security of the citizens should be guaranteed. It will be very desirable to keep sufficient troops near at hand in Calcutta to meet any emergency. You will no doubt recollect that the report that the Central Government would send necessary troops to Assam in the event of serious developments had a sobering effect on the Muslim agitators. I wish the report that two brigades have come to Calcutta [was] true. We are confident that this matter will receive your serious consideration.

With regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
S. P. Jain¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
1 June 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of 23 May 1947, and I thank you for the appreciation of the work that we have been doing.

We are aware of the apprehension felt by the non-Muslim population in Calcutta by the possible attempts at destruction of property by the Muslims, and we have taken all precautions to prevent such a catastrophe. You must have seen the broadcast of the Governor of Bengal who has spoken for the first time about his preparedness to meet with the situation and has assured the people that he will do his best to prevent destruction and vandal-

¹ MP (Rajya Sabha); leading figure in Jain community; former President, FICCI

ism. Enough force has been sent to Calcutta and there is complete preparation to meet with any situation that may arise.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri S. P. Jain
9 Dalhousie Sq., E.
Calcutta

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TELEGRAM

Calcutta
25 June 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

INSISTENT DEMAND IMMEDIATE DISSOLUTION BENGAL MINISTRY. ITS CONTINUANCE AFTER 20 JUNE HIGHLY ANOMALOUS AND IMPROPER. MINISTRY'S ACTIVITIES HIGHLY PREJUDICIAL INTEREST NEW PROVINCE. PLEASE INSIST SECTION 93 WITH REGIONAL ADVISERS PENDING FORMATION REGIONAL MINISTRIES.

SYAMAPRASAD [Mookerjee]

SARDAR PATEL'S MESSAGE TO CONVENTION OF BENGAL CONGRESSMEN

I understand that a convention of Bengal Congressmen is meeting at Mymensingh. Although the country is going to achieve freedom from foreign domination from 15 August, the internal problems facing it are of unusual complexity and have become more difficult. It is on Congressmen that the responsibility lies for tackling them with courage, foresight and determination. India, more particularly Bengal, is passing through a period of crisis. Communal struggle started from Bengal and has enveloped the whole of India. The beginning of the solution of that problem will have to be made in Bengal, and I have every hope that if Bengal Congressmen act with wisdom, courage and unity, Bengal will once again be united sooner than most people expect. It will thus pave the way once again for India's unity. In the meantime, the duty of every Congressman is to try to solidify and not disrupt the country's forces.

Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
23-7-1947

Calcutta
[13] July 1947

My dear Sardarji,

On arrival in Calcutta I find that the communal situation is still causing anxiety. Prafulla Ghosh¹ does not appear to have asserted himself sufficiently. Unless and until there is a complete overhauling of the police organisation in Calcutta the troubles will not cease; they may even increase. The recent outbreak on 7 July was the direct result of the funeral procession of a Muslim police officer who was shot dead the previous day. This procession was fully authorised by the police in spite of the general prohibition against processions under Section 144. The Commissioner of Police and all other police officers, together with a strong force of police constables, formed the procession which was conducted through certain notorious areas. Muslim hooligans, fully armed, were allowed to join the procession and they took to looting and assaulting and murdering people, virtually in the presence of the policemen. The only action taken against them at a late stage was the application of tear gas. But meanwhile the Muslim policemen had actually fired at innocent Hindus returning from their offices in buses and tram cars.

In strange contrast to the above procession, no police official was allowed even to the funeral of a Hindu police officer who was murdered the other day. I enclose a cutting from a newspaper which brings out the contrast between the official policies on the two occasions. May I suggest that you may get a report from the Governor of Bengal as to why in the case of the Hindu police officer they went to the length of prohibiting individual police officers from attending the funeral whereas in the other case the Police Commissioner himself led the procession?

The Governor is a tool in the hands of the [H.S.] Suhrawardy² Ministry, and Prafulla Ghosh is least fitted for the office for which

¹ Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh: joined Congress, 1921; Chief Minister of West Bengal after independence; member, State Assembly, 1947-62; 1967-68; constructive worker of Gandhian programme

² Chief Minister of Bengal at time of partition; Prime Minister of Pakistan, September 1956-October 1957

he has been selected, particularly because of lack of personality and firmness. Moreover, the West Bengal shadow Cabinet does not exercise any real authority. It is for you to decide what steps should be taken in the circumstances.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

The cremation of the assistant sub-inspector of Calcutta police, attached to Watgunge P. S. who had been fatally stabbed on Friday night, took place at Keoratala burning ghat yesterday (Saturday).

The body was carried in a lorry under police escort from the morgue to the burning ghat where the last rites were performed. No procession was allowed. Even some police officers, who had come from different thanas to offer their last respects to the deceased, were not allowed to enter the precincts of the burning ghat.

The officers then decided to present themselves individually at Keoratala burning ghat to pay their last respects to the deceased. But to their utter surprise even this modest request was not acceded.

Hindustan Standard
13 July 1947

Government House
Calcutta
4 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Your message last night. This morning, although I could hear the exchange people at Delhi talking, neither you nor Maniben² could be heard distinctly. Bapu³ is keeping well, better

¹ Member, Central Assembly for two decades; member, Standing Committee of Ministers of Chamber of Princes, 1940-42; Minister, Government of India, 1947-50; Chairman, Indian Railway Enquiry Committee, 1947; Chairman, Planning Advisory Board, Government of India

² Daughter of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who acted as his personal aide for over two decades

³ Affectionate form of address for Gandhi used by followers; means father

than any one could have hoped for. Calcutta is improving; so far as communal feeling goes, no one can complain about the Press or the people. But some mischief-makers with illicit arms are creating trouble. The Muslims may not be able to restrain themselves for very long. I am hoping for the best. You are sending Punjab refugees all over to spread the doctrine of hatred.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari¹

The Hon'ble Shri Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

Calcutta
8 September 1947

Sardar Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

BY GOD'S GRACE EAST BENGAL ENJOYING PEACE SINCE 15 AUGUST. THOUGH SOLVENT MIDDLE CLASS HINDUS MOSTLY SHIFTED ELSEWHERE AND ALL HINDUS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICES CHOSEN WEST BENGAL CAUSING FEAR AND INFERIORITY COMPLEX AMONG HINDUS LIVING IN EAST BENGAL MR. JINNAH'S 11 AUGUST DECLARATION ABOUT MINORITIES' EQUAL RIGHTS REMARKABLY CHANGED BOTH HINDUS' MUSLIMS' PSYCHOLOGY. MANY HINDUS WHO FIRST CHOSE WEST BENGAL NOW EAGER TO SERVE EAST BENGAL GOVERNMENT. TWO THINGS SEEM ESSENTIALLY URGENTLY NECESSARY FOR RESTORING FULL CONFIDENCE IN EAST BENGAL. FIRSTLY WILLING HINDUS BE ALLOWED TO SERVE EAST BENGAL GOVERNMENT SECONDLY LEAGUE CONGRESS COALITION MINISTRY BE FORMED. CONGRESS LEAGUE MINISTRY SHOULD FUNCTION FROM START AND JOINTLY SHAPE ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES. IF ABOVE TWO THINGS EFFECTED WE EAST BENGAL HINDUS THOUGH

¹Joined Gandhi's satyagraha campaign and non-co-operation movement in 1920; General Secretary, Indian National Congress, 1921-22; member, Congress Working Committee, uninterruptedly until 1942; first Premier of Madras after 1937 elections; resigned from Congress in view of differences over Muslim League's claim to Pakistan; assisted Gandhi in talks with Jinnah, 1944; member, Interim Government, 1946-47; Governor of West Bengal, 1947-48; acting Governor-General, June 1948-January 1950; Union Minister without portfolio, July-December 1950; Minister of Home Affairs, 1950-51; Chief Minister of Madras, 1952-54; founded Swatantra Party in 1959 to challenge "Leftist" policies of Congress

MINORITY SHALL LIVE IN PEACE SHARING EQUAL FREEDOM AND THOSE WHO LEFT EAST BENGAL WILL RETURN. CONGRESS LEAGUE HIGH COMMANDS JOINTLY SHOULD MAKE ABOVE THINGS POSSIBLE. AS YOU DESIRE EAST BENGAL HINDUS BE HAPPY KINDLY TRY BEST WITH LEAST DELAY.

FROM SUREN BISWAS SECRETARY EAST BENGAL
PEACE PROTECTION COMMITTEE AND FORMERLY MEMBER
BENGAL ASSEMBLY, 11 CLIVE ROW CALCUTTA

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EXTRACTS

171/B2 Rash Behari Avenue
Calcutta
September 1947

Revered Sardarji,

Last week, i.e. from 7 to 12 August, I had been at Dacca and mixed with the people, both Hindus and Muslims, and tried to work secretly with a certain section of the Leaguers for the formation of the Pakistan Ministry. My efforts failed and the Ministry which has been formed is most reactionary and ultra communalistic, although they may profess otherwise. The situation in Dacca, and almost everywhere in East Bengal, seems for the time being quiet just as "all quiet on the Western front." The Muslims from high to low with a patronising note declare that they will not harm the Hindus. But the theory or the principle of the present Ministry, as I have been able to gather, seems to be that East Bengal Pakistan is not meant to be the homeland of 60 millions of Muslims and Hindus but of 100 millions of Muslims both of Bengal and of outside Bengal, and Government will see to their welfare first. The other communities might be [compelled] to live in the area . . . on their sweet will or mercy.

In my opinion (1) you will kindly appoint immediately a Deputy Ambassador, or liaison officer of the High Commissioner or a fact-finding commission in Eastern Pakistan; (2) if you approve of the policy of interchange of population that must be done immediately; (3) or a strong peace mission to be sent to Dacca immediately.

Kindly excuse me for disturbing you.

With regards,

Yours truly,
Lalmohan Ghosh

New Delhi
16 September 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter regarding the situation in East Bengal. The question of the appointment of a Deputy High Commissioner is already engaging the attention of Government. For the time being at least it seems that the position in Bengal has eased. The question of interchange of population requires a strong public opinion behind it. I am not quite sure whether that public opinion is in its favour.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Mr. Lalmohan Ghosh
Calcutta

38, Hindusthan Road
Calcutta
17 February 1947

My dear Sardarji,

The Bengal Provincial Congress Committee has invited applications from intending candidates for nomination as the Congress candidate for filling up a vacancy in the Bengal Legislative Assembly caused through the resignation of Prof. Jyotis Ch. Ghosh, representing the Calcutta East general constituency. May I seek your advice in this connection as to whether my sins, if any, have been sufficiently atoned and I may venture to submit my application?

During the last one year I have been kept out of the Legislature—provincial and Central; several occasions arose to set right the wrong done to me, presumably at the instance of Sj. Sarat Ch. Bose, with whom, as I had explained to you, I could not see eye to eye for a long time. I am patiently looking forward to the day when my leaders in the Congress for whom I had fought and suffered as an ardent upholder of the presitge of the All-

India Congress Committee in Bengal, will appreciate my humble services during long and strenuous years and extend to me the stamp of their recognition in public service. I know "Those also serve who stand and wait"—and therefore I want to ascertain if it is your desire that I should still "stand and wait." Unless I have some indication from you I feel disinclined to court humiliation at the hands of lesser men here whose main concern so far has been 'party politics' within the Congress regardless of general good of the Congress and the country.

Awaiting an early reply,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
N. Sanyal

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
22 February 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 17th instant.

I do not know the reason why you have been kept out of the legislatures and who is responsible for it. I have nothing to do with the selection of candidates, and if you want to be selected you must apply to the President of the All-India Congress Committee, who will dispose of the application on the recommendation of the Provincial Congress Committee. If the Provincial Parliamentary Board or Committee recommends you, there will be hardly any difficulty in your being selected by the Central Board.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Nalinaksha Sanyal
Calcutta

TELEGRAM

Marwari Chamber of Commerce
Calcutta
30 July 1947

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Hon'ble G. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

COMMITTEE MARWARI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE CALCUTTA LEARN WITH GREAT SATISFACTION FROM A PRESS REPORT THAT IN PROVINCIAL CONSTITUTION OF WEST BENGAL SEVEN SEATS ARE BEING ALLOTTED TO THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE. IN THIS CONNECTION COMMITTEE SUBMIT THAT REPRESENTATION TO COMMERCIAL ASSOCIATIONS SHOULD BE GIVEN ON TWO BROAD PRINCIPLES NAMELY THOSE WHO ARE NOT CITIZENS OF INDIAN UNION SHOULD NOT BE GRANTED ANY REPRESENTATION AND SECONDLY ONLY THOSE COMMERCIAL ORGANISATIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN ENTIRELY DEVOTING THEIR ACTIVITIES TO DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY AND WHICH AS SUCH HAVE BEEN RECOGNISED BY BOTH CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS IN MATTER OF REPRESENTATION ON VARIOUS COMMITTEES AND ADVISORY BOARDS CONSTITUTED BY CENTRAL OR PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN RECENT TIMES SHOULD BE GIVEN REPRESENTATION. IN THIS CONNECTION CHAMBER COMMITTEE WOULD BRING TO YOUR KIND NOTICE THAT FOR THE LAST MANY YEARS THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AS ALSO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL HAVE RECOGNISED BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, MARWARI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INDIAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND MUSLIM CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AS THE FIVE LEADING CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE IN CALCUTTA AND AS SUCH GRANTED REPRESENTATION TO THESE BODIES ON VARIOUS COMMITTEES OR BOARDS CONSTITUTED BY THEM. COMMITTEE THEREFORE REGRET TO POINT OUT THAT UNDER GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935 ALTHOUGH FIVE SEATS ASSIGNED TO BENGAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE TWO TO BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER AND ONE EACH TO INDIAN CHAMBER AND MUSLIM CHAMBER NO SEAT WAS ASSIGNED TO MARWARI

CHAMBER OF COMMERCE EITHER ON CENTRAL OR ON PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE. COMMITTEE WOULD FURTHER BRING TO YOUR KIND NOTICE THAT MARWARI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE ESTABLISHED IN 1900 HAS BEEN ENTIRELY DEVOTING ITS ACTIVITIES TO BUILDING OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY IN BENGAL PRACTICALLY FOR LAST HALF CENTURY AND BEEN VITALLY INTERESTED IN INDUSTRIAL AS WELL AS COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA PARTICULARLY OF BENGAL. COMMITTEE WOULD FURTHER SUBMIT THAT THOUGH THIS CHAMBER IS THIRD AMONG THESE CHAMBERS FROM POINT OF VIEW OF AGE THE OLDER TWO BEING BENGAL CHAMBER AND BENGAL NATIONAL CHAMBER OF COMMERCE BUT IT IS BIGGEST FROM POINT OF VIEW OF ITS NUMBER OF MEMBERS BEING OVER SIX HUNDRED REPRESENTING VARIOUS INDUSTRIAL COMMERCIAL AND TRADE INTERESTS IN EASTERN PART OF INDIA.

COMMITTEE WOULD FURTHER SUBMIT THAT BOTH CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL HAVE GRANTED REPRESENTATION TO THIS CHAMBER ON VARIOUS COMMITTEES AND ADVISORY BODIES SUCH AS EXPORT ADVISORY COUNCIL CALCUTTA PORT COMMITTEE LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES OF DIFFERENT RAILWAYS INFORMAL QUARTERLY MEETINGS OF RAILWAYS TEXTILE TRADE MARKS ADVISORY COMMITTEE PROVINCIAL DRUG CONTROL ADVISORY COMMITTEE RAILWAY RATES ADVISORY COMMITTEE BENGAL FOOD ADVISORY BOARD VISITING COMMITTEE OF MEDICAL COLLEGE GROUP OF HOSPITALS AND VARIOUS OTHER BODIES. FOR THE LAST MANY YEARS IT MAY BE ADDED ALMOST ALL MEMBERS OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND INDIAN GOVERNMENT TRADE COMMISSIONERS AS ALSO FOREIGN CONSULS IN INDIA HAVE BEEN MEETING COMMITTEE OF CHAMBER AND HOLDING IMPORTANT DISCUSSIONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. WHENEVER GOVERNORS OF PROVINCE OF BENGAL HAVE HAD OCCASION TO MEET REPRESENTATIVES OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE THIS CHAMBER HAS ALWAYS BEEN INVITED TO ATTEND SUCH MEETINGS AND CONFERENCES. MY COMMITTEE WOULD THEREFORE EARNESTLY REQUEST YOU TO CONSIDER THE SUGGESTIONS MADE ABOVE IN THE MATTER OF GRANTING REPRESENTATION TO THE CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE IN LEGISLATURE AND MY COMMITTEE CONFIDENTLY HOPE THAT MARWARI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE WHICH HAS BEEN RECOGNISED BOTH BY CENTRAL AND PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS AS A LEADING CHAMBER OF COMMERCE AND HAS BEEN RENDERING USEFUL SERVICES TO INDUSTRY AND TRADE WOULD BE GIVEN DUE REPRESENTATION ON LEGISLATURE IN UNION OF INDIA AS ALSO IN PROVINCE OF WEST BENGAL.

SECRETARY
MARCHAMBER

Cecil Hotel
Simla
7 June 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Though every patriotic Indian must grieve over the partition of India, the scheme, as now announced, is the best that could be devised in the present circumstances. From one point of view, Hindustan will have some chance of planning for future development, now that the obstructive element in the Central Government will have to leave.

The Legislative Assembly is going to be dissolved soon, and it is said that the Constituent Assembly will take its place as the Central Legislature. As a representative of an Eastern Bengal constituency, I have no place in the Legislature of the future, unless I am adopted by Western Bengal on the strength of my residence in Calcutta and ownership of house property there. My election to the Constituent Assembly was opposed by Sarat [Bose] Babu on the last occasion. I do not know who will be adopted for election from Western Bengal this time. Kiran Sankar represents an Eastern Bengal constituency like me, and I do not think he will have a chance of being elected to the Constituent Assembly from Western Bengal due to his present unpopularity. Sarat Babu will, of course, have not the least chance. My work on the Railway Enquiry Committee is likely to continue for a few months more, and I may find myself shelved on this account. My hope is that you will perhaps bear me in mind. I have nothing more to say.

Trusting this finds you in the best of health.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

18 June 1947

My dear Neogy,

I have received your letter of 7 June.

2. You must have seen the proceedings of the AICC which has taken the final decision. We are now free to develop about 80 per cent. of our country in our own way. If we can consolidate our forces, have a strong Central Government and a strong army, we can, during the course of five years, make considerable progress. If we can only make substantial progress in the development schemes that are pending, it would give great hope to the country.

3. In Bengal, the decision for a division will be taken on the 20th when there will be election for the Constituent Assembly. I know that you have no place [in] the future legislature unless you are accommodated somewhere in the Western Bengal elections. I will try my best to see that a place can be found for you.

4. Regarding the division of Bengal there seem to be no doubt now, and all bluffs and threats or inducements and offers of bribes have disappeared. Things are progressing smoothly.

Hope you are doing well.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri K. C. Neogy
Cecil Hotel
Simla S.W.

New Delhi
7 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am sending herewith a copy of the report which the Director of the Intelligence Bureau has received from the Inspector-General of Police, Bengal. You will notice that ministerial interference in the actions of the police and in internal matters like transfers, etc. is seriously affecting the morale of the police force. The Director

of Intelligence of the Defence Department has, in another connection, mentioned that in the event of any large-scale disturbance in Eastern India, the Army will be presented with an increased problem owing to the state of the police forces in Bihar and not Calcutta. It seems that our problem in Bengal would not be merely Calcutta, but all over.

2. Regarding Bihar police, I have had discussions with the Bihar Premier and will be writing to you separately.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

28 April 1947

The police have continued to work satisfactorily in very trying circumstances and discipline has on the whole been good.

Morale outwardly appears to be high, but there are increasingly obvious circumstances which will inevitably tend to cause deterioration.

News of the police mutiny in Bihar was received with considerable interest but, though the events were freely discussed, there have been no apparent repercussions in Bengal. Posters issued by the CSP urging the Bengal police to follow the example of their brethren in Bihar have been found in one district. Copies of appeals addressed "Bharatiya Police Bahinir Kachhe" have also been traced and seized from a private house.

Government's delay in issuing final orders on pay scales continues to involve unfavourable comment.

The ever increasing communal tension amongst the populace is inevitably having an adverse effect on unity in the subordinate ranks, which is in no way mitigated by Government's frequently repeated appeals to the people to restore communal harmony, possibly because these appeals have so far been ineffective. Officers and men are perturbed by the political considerations which influence the result of police action generally and which are viewed with considerable misgiving by all ranks. In Noakhali district there is a distinct feeling that vigorous action against the aggressor community will not meet with the approval of those in power. Needless to say, steps are being taken to endeavour to counteract this feeling, but circumstances make it difficult to eradicate the justifiable impression, which is gaining ground throughout the province, that the authority of superior police officers is being undermined. Ministerial intervention in such matters as transfers within a

district, disciplinary action taken by competent authority and the normal investigation of crime has strengthened this impression. The authority of superior officers has always been highly respected in the past, and the undermining of such authority is viewed with dismay and alarm by officers and men, both Muslim and Hindu. There are indications that a situation has been created in which it has become possible for persons claiming responsibility to question subordinate officers regarding the ability of their superiors. All ranks of both communities (including officers of the IP) fear the results of communal favouritism which is likely to result from ministerial intervention in domestic matters and are apprehensive that merit will count for nothing in the matter of promotion and disciplinary action in respect of alleged offences. These circumstances are having an increasingly deleterious effect on the morale of the force as a whole.

28-4-1947

S. G. Taylor
I. G. of Police, Bengal

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Viceregal Lodge
Simla
13 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 7 May enclosing a report of the DIB about the morale of the Bengal police.

2. I myself have been perturbed by the events which have recently been taking place in Calcutta, and I had a long talk with the Governor when he was staying with me in Delhi last week. He told me trouble with the police force has now become really serious and that the armed conflict between the Gurkhas and Punjabi Muslim policemen is extremely disturbing. The Bengal Government have suspended those of the Gurkha policemen from duty who attacked and killed five Punjabi Muslim police and propose to dismiss all the doubtful elements. They intend to use soldiers temporarily on police duty, which I do not like but I suppose is unavoidable, and are going to raise new police as fast as they can, on a fair communal ratio.

3. On the same general question I am afraid that interference by Ministers and their parties is all too common in a number of provinces and is causing a steady deterioration both in efficiency and morale. All the reports which I am continually receiving, and talks which I have with people from all parts of India,

confirm that it is not only the police which is affected in this way (though the consequences may be more immediately serious in this service than elsewhere) but every Government department.

4. This matter was discussed at length at the recent conference I had with the provincial Governors, all of whom mentioned the ministerial interference which had been taking place in such matters as transfers within a district, whenever there had been the slightest trouble. I asked all Governors to impress on their Chief Ministers how essential it was that those in authority should receive their full backing and that good and efficient services can only be obtained if political influence is kept away from them.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
16 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 May 1947 regarding police morale.

2. Your impression that interference by Ministers and their parties is all too common in a number of provinces and has affected all Government departments, has come as somewhat of a surprise to me. I have been keeping myself in touch with both officials and non-officials from various provinces, who happen to come to Delhi, but have not derived the same impression from my contacts with them. The reports which we receive have also made no reference to such intervention. On receipt of your letter, I asked the Director of Intelligence Bureau if he had received complaints similar to those coming from Bengal from other provinces as well. He said he had not received any from the IGPs or from the Central Intelligence officers, who, as you are probably aware, are stationed in all provinces. In my discussion with Premiers and Ministers I have always impressed upon them the need for taking the Services with them and maintaining their cohesion and esprit de corps. I cannot imagine that there would be any large-scale departure from this principle in the Congress provinces. But if you have any particular instances relating to

these provinces, or if you could say which provinces are intended, I shall be glad to put the respective Premiers wise about it and will secure improvement where necessary.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
17 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 16 May. I have no doubt from my talks with all the Governors, and from other officials I have met, that there is interference by Ministers and their parties with the day-to-day work of officials. At the present time, however, when we have so much at stake about the future of India, I do not think it will be fruitful to go into details in regard to these matters; but I am most grateful to you for impressing on Premiers and Ministers the need for preserving the integrity of the various Services.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
7 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I have seen reports in the Press that Suhrawardy refuses to publish the reports of officers who were appointed to make enquiries into the Noakhali disturbances. I feel that the Central Government would be interested in these reports. It is possible, however, that if a demand went from us, Suhrawardy would refuse. The only other way we can obtain [them] is through H.E. the Governor of Bengal, and I would be grateful if he could be requested to send a copy.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

Viceregal Lodge
Simla
13 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 7 May about reports made by officials who investigated the Noakhali disturbances.

2. I have not seen these reports myself nor have I seen any official reports of the related disturbances in Bihar. I intend therefore to ask both the Governor of Bengal and the Governor of Bihar to let me have copies of these reports. Although law and order is a provincial responsibility, there may well be something in these reports which we may wish to discuss in Cabinet later.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
3 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I am writing in reply to your letter of 7 May, in which you said that you had seen Press reports that the Chief Minister, Bengal, had refused to publish some official reports on enquiries into the Noakhali disturbances.

2. These reports are of course a matter for the provincial Government since law and order is a provincial subject. However, I wrote to the Governor of Bengal who informs me that the subsequent reports which have been received by his Government have not materially affected the accuracy of the summary on the Noakhali disturbances which was circulated to Members of the Interim Government by Lord Wavell on 22 November 1946.

The Governor has however sent me a copy of the statistics relating to the disturbances corrected up to May 1947. I enclose a copy of these which you may perhaps find of interest.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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TELEGRAM

Bombay
2 July 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

REFERENCE GAGANBHAI'S [G. L. Mehta¹] PHONE CONVERSATION WITH YOU ABOUT BENGAL MINISTRY WILL HAVE TO PLACE MATTER BEFORE SCINDIA BOARD SINCE GAGANBHAI UNDER AGREEMENT AND AFRAID DIFFICULTY RELEASE HIM AS CHAIRMAN OUT OF INDIA. HOWEVER SEE NO DIFFICULTY IN HIS GOING INTO CONSEMBLY. REQUEST YOU THEREFORE NOT PRESS HIM ACCEPT MINISTERSHIP. ADVISE PRAFULLA GHOSH MAKE OTHER ARRANGEMENTS. KINDLY WIRE REPLY URGENT.

SHANTIKUMAR

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
3 July 1947

Shantikumar
Jalanath
Bombay

YOUR TELEGRAM. IF YOU CANNOT RELIEVE GAGANBHAI FOR BENGAL MINISTRY I WILL NOT PRESS.

VALLABHBHAI

¹ Employee of Scindia Shipping Company who became member of Planning Commission after independence; and later India's ambassador in Washington

3 July 1947

My dear Prafulla,

I am getting telegrams from Bombay about Gaganbhai. Shantikumar is against relieving him from Scindia. Mr. Walchand¹ is in England, and in his absence, the company cannot afford to spare Gaganbhai. I am afraid you will have to look for somebody else instead.

From the names that appeared in the Press today, I find that you have not been able to persuade Dr. Syama Prasad or Mr. [N.R.] Sarkar,² and your team will probably be very weak. I do not know most of your colleagues and so I cannot say anything. I hope you will be able to cope with the situation.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. P. C. Ghosh
14/8, Gariahat Road, Ballygunge
Calcutta

New Delhi
3 August 1947

My dear Prafulla,

I learn that you have informed Sir Trevor Harris that his services will not be required on 15 August 1947. I wonder whether you tried to ascertain whether you were competent to send this sort of communication to the Chief Justice. The appointments to the Calcutta High Court of judges appointed before 1 April 1937, are made by the Government of India. It follows, therefore, that terminations of appointments should also be made

¹ Walchand Hirachand: Leading industrialist of Bombay who pioneered ship-building and manufacture of aircraft

² Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, 1941-42; Minister of Finance, Commerce and Industries, West Bengal, after independence; Mayor of Calcutta, 1934-35; member, Central Banking Enquiry Committee; member, Indian Industrial Mission to Britain and USA, 1945

by that authority. Under the Act, judges of the High Courts can continue up to the completion of sixty years. It is, therefore, not competent on our part to terminate the services of High Court judges unless powers to do so are taken by adaptation of the Government of India Act. We do not propose to take any such powers, though it would be left to a judge of the High Court whether to continue in service or not. Apart from this, I understand that Sir Trevor Harris has been a very competent and impartial judge and in his judicial administration, his reputation is completely above board. Though he has been affected by infantile paralysis, I am told that his brain and general capacity to do judicial work are unaffected.

2. I feel that we should not give any unjust affront to an officer of this type. Your letter is likely to be interpreted by him as an affront and one could hardly blame him for that. I would, in these circumstances, ask you to withdraw your letter and see that the Chief Justice is not unnecessarily upset about it.

3. Please let me know on the telephone the action which you take in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
Chief Minister, West Bengal
Calcutta

83

8 Theatre Road
Calcutta
8 August 1947

My dear Sardar,

I received your letter regarding the Chief Justice of the Calcutta High Court.

I did not do anything on my own initiative. The Chief Justice himself wrote a letter to the Governor to inquire from me if the West Bengal Government would keep him (Chief Justice) if he desired to remain in West Bengal. He even suggested that he was willing to forego the extra allowance that he as Chief Justice was getting from the Government of Bengal. Then the Governor pressed me also for my opinion. As the Chief Justice and the Governor were asking for my opinion, I thought



THE SARDAR, ON A VISIT TO GAUHATI (ASSAM), SEEN WITH PREMIER BARDOLAI.
GOVERNOR HYDARI IS BEHIND THEM IN FELT HAT



SARDAR PATEL, DURING A VISIT TO ASSAM, ADDRESSED REPRESENTATIVES OF KHASI PEOPLE AT SHILLONG. ON LEFT ARE GOVERNOR HYDARI (WITH PIPE) AND A WOMAN KHASI LEADER AND ONE TIME MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT

that there was no point in their asking if I had not the constitutional power. I did not write any letter to the Chief Justice either. I gave my opinion to the Governor verbally that for reasons of health I have been advised not to keep him. At a later stage, I made it clear to the Governor that if constitutionally I had no power, the question to keep or not to keep the Chief Justice did not arise. I was brought in the picture by the Chief Justice and the Governor.

As regards keeping him on merit, I consulted eminent lawyers and some of the judges. The present Chief Justice has upto now not been able to sit in the Division Bench at all. He comes in an invalid chair from a nursing home and works in his chamber only. There are other equally competent judges in the Calcutta High Court. So there is no point in trying to keep an invalid judge. So if I have the power, I would not like to keep him. The same remark applies to Justice A. N. Sen. He should also go on grounds of health. I consulted lawyers. I understand we have the power to request them to go on leave on grounds of health. But in constitutional matters, you are the best judge and ultimately this matter has got to be decided by the Government of India.

Regarding the Service judges, I think you have my opinion through Mr. Bapat¹. As there was some deterioration in the Calcutta situation yesterday, the whole of the last evening I was busy, so I could not meet Mr. Bapat and get your reactions.

We discussed the whole matter in our Cabinet and came to the decision that invalid judges should not be kept, if we have the power.

As for the Service judges, Roxborough, Lodge and Black would be unwelcome. If the Indian Union be compelled to take them according to the terms of settlement, I would be happy if you could send them to other provinces.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Prafulla

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

I tried to get you on the phone yesterday but failed, hence I am sending this letter through a messenger.

¹ ICS; served both Bengal and Central Governments; joint Secretary, Union Home Ministry

S.C.-V-6

New Delhi
10 August 1947

My dear Prafulla Babu,

Thank you for your letter dated 8 August 1947. I feel that before expressing your opinion on the question of continuance of the Chief Justice and judges of the Calcutta High Court you might have verified the legal position. In the Partition Council it has been decided that we should give option to judges and respect the choice exercised by them. It would not be possible to accommodate them outside Bengal. We have, therefore, agreed that those judges who have opted for Western Bengal should remain on the Calcutta Bench.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh
Calcutta

Government House
Calcutta
4 September 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Please read this letter from the Chief Justice. It is only those who know how courts work that can appreciate the difficulties. I am not able to make the Bengal Ministry understand. I hope you will help. But we are all concerned far too much over other matters now and have to forget the High Court.

Yours sincerely,
G. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

LETTER DATED 3 SEPTEMBER 1947 FROM THE CHIEF JUSTICE,
CALCUTTA HIGH COURT, TO THE GOVERNOR OF
WEST BENGAL

Many thanks for your letter of 1 September 1947. I am extremely grateful to you for supporting my recommendation regarding the re-appointment of the two additional judges for a further period of one year. With a chief justice and 14 judges we shall make a determined attempt to deal with all current work and, if possible, reduce the arrears though I am very doubtful whether we can do more than deal with the current work.

It is true that the province of West Bengal is roughly only one-third the size of the old province of Bengal, but the work from the districts which now comprise West Bengal constitutes about three-fourths of the work from the whole province. As I told you in my previous letter, 75 per cent of the arrears of the old court of Bengal remained with us here.

I think it only right that I should point out that the institutions for the next 12 or 18 months will be far greater than the normal institutions for the districts which now comprise West Bengal. Owing to the large number of judges who elected to serve in West Bengal I have been able to post a number of judges in courts which were heavily in arrear. Our worst district was Alipore and I have posted to that district two additional district judges, five subordinate judges and three munsifs. Other courts have been given additional subordinate judges or munsifs. These additional judges will, I hope, materially reduce the arrears in these district courts during the next 12 or 18 months but in so doing they will undoubtedly increase our work here because in Bengal there is an appeal in practically every case decided in the lower courts.

The institutions since 15 August last have rather puzzled me as they are equal if not slightly more than the average institutions for the whole of the province. This must be a temporary increase probably due to the fact that this court was closed from 14 to 20 August 1947 and also to the uncertainty in the minds of litigants as to whether the district of 24 Parganas would go to East Bengal or not. However, I am satisfied that we shall be faced with a very marked increase in institutions during the coming year or so owing to the postings of additional judges in the lower courts.

I shall keep you informed from time to time of the position as I am certain that we shall not be able to deal with the arrears with a chief

justice and 14 judges. You can rest assured that the old cases will be dealt with first.

I have asked the judges to consider means of increasing the output and I think we can do a good deal by altering our rules and increasing the jurisdiction of single judges. We shall probably meet with a good deal of opposition, but something will have to be done as our outturn is undoubtedly low.

Again, my sincerest thanks for your assistance.

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New Delhi
12 September 1947

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter dated 4 September 1947 about the Calcutta High Court.

I do not know what you want me to do in this matter. I do not think the present strength of the Calcutta High Court can be reduced. There is, therefore, no question of its reduction. As regards any increase, you seem to be in a much better position than I to take this up with the Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Governor of West Bengal
Calcutta

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17 Janak Road
Calcutta
6 August 1947

To
Vallabhbhai Patel Esq.
The Hon'ble Home Minister
New Delhi
Sir,

I beg most respectfully to draw your kind attention to the humble prayer of an unfortunate Congress worker hailing from East Bengal. Ever since my boyhood I have been a faithful follower of the National Congress, and I was one of the workers

of "Satyashram" in the district of Dacca. In August 1942 when the clarion call came from the Congress to the youths of the country to join the movement and to make the revolution a success, I joined it immediately. I was arrested under the Defence of India Rules, Section 129, and was imprisoned in Dacca Central Jail. I was then a student of Dacca University. I continued my studies in jail, and passed the B.A. examination with Honours in English. After my release, I appeared at the M.A. examination in English of the University of Dacca in 1945, and was placed third in the second class.

After that I began to serve Srikali College (in the district of Tipperah) as the senior Professor of English. But due to the partition of Bengal the college authorities have decided to abolish the institution as it will have to be affiliated to the University of Dacca. I wish to mention here that Srikali is a degree college affiliated to the University of Calcutta, and the standard of this college is very high. Its students every year get central scholarship, and a student of this college stood first at the I.A. examination of Calcutta University in 1945.

Not only I have lost my job but I have lost my house as well due to the partition of the province. My house is in Dacca, and it has been requisitioned by the Pakistan Government.

I know it is improper for a Congress worker to seek employment at this time when we have become the master of the land. But extreme poverty and hunger have compelled me to seek your help. I am ready to serve in any capacity.

Please forgive me for your valuable time that I have exploited. Think for a moment the extreme helplessness of a youth of 22 who has no means to lead an honourable and honest life.

An early response from you will be highly appreciated.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,
Shanti Ranjan Banerjee, M.A.
Late, Senior Professor of English,
Srikali College, Tipperah.

New Delhi
18 August 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 6 August 1947.

I suggest that you approach Prafulla Babu who is in a better position to advise you, and, if necessary, to utilise your services.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Shanti Ranjan Banerjee, M.A.
Calcutta

7 August 1947

My dear Sarat,

We were all pained to read your statement on Rajaji's appointment. It seemed to us rather bad taste that you should have referred in these terms to one who was a colleague of yours in the Cabinet for two months. No doubt things have happened in the past which have been distasteful to you, but when you shared the Government with him, they should have been forgotten. I assumed that they had been forgotten and that your relations were nothing but cordial. To refer to his past in this manner when it should have been buried—and more so, in public—is, in my judgment, most unfortunate. Rajaji's appointment as Governor was made with the full consent of Prafulla Babu. We ourselves were reluctant to part with him, but we felt that our loss would be Bengal's gain. I do hope you will extend to Rajaji every co-operation and assistance that he will need in the discharge of his duties and will now at least not harp upon old bickerings.

I also hope that you will use your influence to discourage any black flag demonstration, if the report is true that they are being contemplated. The issues before the country are too big to be trifled with. The problems before Bengal are too gigantic to be further accentuated by such old memories. I hope, therefore,

that you will see that there is no untoward event and that all of you settle down in Bengal with your new responsibilities and problems without a jarring note.

I am sending herewith some information which has come to me about Subhas.¹ I am writing to Nathalal, who is in Belgium, to make enquiries and to assist the family if the information given is correct.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose
1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta

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1 Woodburn Park
Calcutta
14 August 1947

My dear Sardar,

Your letter of the 7 instant with enclosure was to hand yesterday. I do not think I was guilty of bad taste. In condemning Rajaji's appointment as Governor of West Bengal I criticised his public activities and I did so out of a sense of public duty. The fact that we were colleagues in the Congress Working Committee and in the Cabinet cannot and ought not to stand in the way of my expressing my opinion on a most important issue. Public life would come to an end if we allowed personal relations to interfere with our public duty. In condemning Rajaji's appointment I was also voicing the general opinion in West Bengal. I have heard that Prafulla Babu consented to Rajaji's appointment but that shows that he was entirely out of touch with public opinion on this side. Bengal has nothing to gain and everything to lose by Rajaji's appointment. His appointment is an outrage upon Bengal's sentiments and to expect Bengal to co-operate with him is expecting too much. I wrote a long letter to Jawaharlal on the 9th instant and he will probably show my letter to you. It is unnecessary, therefore, to say more in this letter.

¹ Subhas Chandra Bose: Younger brother of Sarat Chandra Bose; President, Congress sessions at Haripura and Tripuri; head of Azad Hind Government and of Indian National Army; died in air crash after Japan's defeat in World War II

I have read the enclosure to your letter very carefully. I cannot accept the report contained therein as true. I wish you had referred the matter to me before writing to Nathalal. I do not think Nathalal has the training necessary to make enquiries of this nature and he may do more harm than good. After all, if Subhas left a family (which I do not believe) it is up to me and not to Nathalal to assist the family.

Thanks. I am somewhat better now. I trust you are keeping well.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Sarat Chandra Bose

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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18 August 1947

My dear Sarat Babu,

I have received your letter of the 14th instant. I regret I have not been able to persuade you to change your opinion about your attitude in the matter of Rajaji's appointment as Governor of Bengal. From all accounts received from Bengal, it appears that Bengal as a whole has greatly appreciated this appointment, but I do not know why you consider it as an outrage upon Bengal's sentiments. I have not seen your letter of the 9th addressed to Jawaharlal as we have been very busy these days and for the last two days he is in the Punjab. However, I will see it when he returns.

2. I am very sorry if I have committed an [indiscretion] in referring the matter to Nathalal. I confess I was carried away by the story of sufferings of the alleged widow and child and I thought as Nathalal was near, it will be better to render immediate assistance if the story was true. It did not occur to me from the contents of the letter that there would be any doubt about it, but you have put me on a different track and, perhaps, I was mistaken.

3. I was glad to hear that your health is improving.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Sarat Chandra Bose
Calcutta

Calcutta
29 August 1947

My dear Sardar,

I regret the delay in replying to your letter of the 18th instant which was to hand a few days ago.

No appointment in recent times has created greater dissatisfaction and resentment in Bengal than Rajaji's appointment; and I am most surprised to learn that your correspondents have informed you that Bengal, as a whole, has greatly appreciated the appointment.

As regards the other matter mentioned in your letter, I am making enquiries and if I feel satisfied about the truth of the report, I shall certainly do the needful.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Sarat Chandra Bose

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
5 October 1947

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 1 October 1947. I fully realise how you must be feeling in distant Calcutta at these tragedies which are being perpetrated in the Land of the Five Rivers.

Regarding the Zamindari Bill, I have had a letter from Subbarayan and also had a discussion with the Raja of Bobbili this morning. It is possible that the matter may be discussed in the Parliamentary Board very shortly.

I am sorry to hear that you are not happy.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Calcutta

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Government House,
Calcutta
9 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your kind letter dated 5 October. I am glad you are dealing with the Madras Zamindari Bill affair in the best manner possible. Praying that you and your colleagues may be enabled by the grace of God to face all difficulties.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
16 October 1947

My dear Patel,

H.M. has received a telegram [see enclosure] from the Prime Minister of West Bengal saying that the railway staff at Siliguri on the Bengal Assam Railway have been compelled to stop work and are being subjected to threats by the Pakistani staff. Apparently, railway stations and permanent way on that line are not yet placed under an Indian Union Railway officer. H.M. has heard similar complaints from other sections of the railway which on account of the Boundary Award have now to be transferred to India. Apparently, the Pakistan fiat still reigns there and the earnings of these railways are being enjoyed by the Pakistan railways.

H.M. feels that enquiries should be made on these points as soon as possible, so that if the local railway administration has not transferred or is showing unwillingness to transfer the railway lines to Indian control, the matter should be taken up in the Partition

Council or with the Pakistan Government, as may be appropriate.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar
Private Secretary to
Hon. Dy. Prime Minister

H. M. Patel Esq., CIE, ICS
Secretary
Ministry of Defence
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE
TELEGRAM

FOLLOWING FOR DR. JOHN MATTHAI¹ AND SARDAR PATEL MINISTERS NEW DELHI. RAILWAY STAFF AT SILIGURI, BENGAL-ASSAM RAILWAY, REPORT THAT THEY HAVE BEEN COMPELLED TO STOP WORK AND SUBJECTED TO THREATS BY PAKISTAN STAFF. KINDLY TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TO PLACE RAILWAY STATIONS AND PERMANENT WAY WITHIN INDIAN UNION RAILWAY OFFICER. PRESENT SITUATION IS INTOLERABLE AND FRAUGHT WITH DANGER.

¹ Educationist and economist; Vice-Chancellor, Bombay and Kerala Universities; MLC (Madras) 1922-25; joined Tatas in 1944; Minister in Nehru Cabinet, 1947-50; rejoined Tatas, 1950-55; later Chairman, Board of Directors, State Bank of India

CHAPTER III
BIHAR : MOLASSES SCANDAL

96

New Delhi
11 January 1947

My dear Sri Babu,¹

I am enclosing an extract of a report which I have received. I should like to know whether there is any truth in it.

Yours sincerely,
V. J. Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Prime Minister of Bihar
Patna

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM C.I.O. BIHAR'S TOUR NOTES DATED 2-1-47

Opinion amongst officers is divided regarding the morale of the magistracy and the police. While some think that nearly 50 per cent of even the Hindu constables will remain loyal to whatever Government be in power in the event of a showdown, others feel that only a vast majority of the Muslim constables will play the game. ASI and upwards will sit on the fence but will not be openly disloyal.

In these parts, Babu Jaggannath Singh, MLA, plays a very important role. He has been instrumental in getting a departmental enquiry held into the conduct of a Muslim assistant surgeon in charge of the Sasaram Hospital. This has caused a lot of heart-burning not only amongst Muslims but also amongst officers of the provincial Government as the doctor was held in great esteem while he was posted in Sasaram. His only fault was that he did not consent to relax the rules in favour of Mr. Jaggannath Singh when the latter was incarcerated in Sasaram jail. There is now a talk amongst both officers and men that nobody's honour is safe in the hands of the present

¹ Sri Krishna Sinha: Congress leader who was Premier of Bihar, 1937-39, and for decade after independence

Government, and this has occasioned bitter criticism of some of the Ministers. According to some men in the police, there is now a distinct swing of the pendulum away from Congress influence, but much will depend upon the leadership exhibited by superior officers if and when trouble starts.

G. Ahmed

Deputy Director (C)

8-1-47

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New Delhi

2 February 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

Since you left Delhi, I have not heard anything from you about the situation in Bihar. It causes continuous anxiety and unless vigorous efforts are made to set right the communal situation, you might find yourself in trouble. It is not enough that there is no more violence taking place. What is wanted is to tackle vigorously the question of refugees. They must be persuaded to go back to their villages, and for that purpose the first thing to be done is to get them out of the control and influence of the Muslim League and take the entire relief and rehabilitation work under the control of Government. You may find difficulties in doing so. Your own people may give you trouble, but you have to face it and deal with this situation firmly.

2. I suggest that you must give this work to your Momin Minister, [Abdul] Qayum Ansari, who is capable of handling this situation effectively and firmly. He can put in a large number of Momin Muslim volunteers and he could defy the League. In this matter, Mahmood may be an obstacle, but you have to overrule him.

3. I understand that Ansari is in charge of the Cottage Industries Department. If it is so, it is more appropriate that he should be allowed to handle relief and rehabilitation work of the refugees. Besides, he should be given the control and distribution of yarn. Yarn would be the principal factor in developing the cottage industry. Why yarn is given to another Minister I cannot understand.

4. What is going on about the appointment of an enquiry about the Bihar communal riots, and what do you propose to do in this matter? I understand Jawaharlal had spoken to you about it. Do not think that he has abandoned the idea, but if there are any difficulties, it is better that they should be explained

to him and you should put yourself in the right. As Bapu had asked you to appoint an inquiry, perhaps in future the question may arise when they may all turn down against you, and therefore it is better to clear up this matter in time.

5. I should like to know the number of refugees in Bihar, in what camps they are kept and what are the arrangements made for their relief and rehabilitation.

6. I should also like to know how many people have gone to Bengal and to other places. Also whether the refugees are going back now to their villages, or they are still afraid of returning to their places. Vigorous efforts should be made to remove their apprehensions about any possible danger to life or property in case of their return to their villages. Mere increase in the police force is not enough. The Hindu villagers must be persuaded to change their attitude and they must give an assurance to the refugees for their safety.

7. I am told that your Governor has complained that your Ministry is not fulfilling the undertaking given in the matter of the war service candidates. I understand that the matter is to be considered in your Cabinet shortly. All provincial ministries have fulfilled their undertaking, and it would not be wise for you, particularly in your difficult situation, to give any legitimate cause for a breach of undertaking on behalf of Government. Please write to me about it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Sri Krishna Sinha
Prime Minister of Bihar
Patna

New Delhi
9 March 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

I am still awaiting a reply to my letter of 2 February 1947 to which you promised an early reply in your letter of 18 February 1947. I am sure you would realise that the letter raised important issues, of which an early expression of your views would secure a speedy disposal.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

New Delhi
13 February 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

I understand that there is some difficulty in your sparing Mr. M. K. Sinha who is our Intelligence Officer in Bihar for service with the Central Intelligence Bureau. You know how anxious we are to Indianise the Bureau as soon as possible, and amongst the intelligence officers Mr. Sinha was the only Indian who could be considered for the post of Deputy Director. I do hope that you will be able to spare him for the purpose and inform our office accordingly. We require him to join the Bureau as soon as possible and I shall be glad if very early arrangements could be made for his relief. My letters to you remain unanswered. Please attend to them without delay.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

Patna

18 February 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 13th inst. I have passed order yesterday before receipt of your letter that Mr. M. K. Sinha was to be spared for service in the Central Intelligence Bureau. I am asking the Chief Secretary to see that he is relieved at once.

I am sorry to find that some of your letters have remained unanswered. I will see that a reply to them are sent soon.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi

21 March 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

I have received information that subscriptions are being asked for from, and are being given by, your constables to the J. P. Fund (probably Jaya Prakash Narayan¹ Fund) and that the Muslim constables have refused to pay any.

2. I am sure your Government Servants Conduct Rules prohibit subscriptions in aid of political movements and if the information is correct, I cannot see how this can be permitted. I hope you will see that these activities are discontinued and that those who have committed a breach of the rules are properly dealt with.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

¹ Founder-Secretary, Socialist Party of India; prominent member of Congress till 1948; retired from politics and engaged himself in Sarvodaya (public welfare activities) including Bhoodan (land-gift) movement

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TELEGRAM

Patna
29 March 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Bombay

WE STRONGLY RESENT ATTITUDE OF BIHAR CONGRESS IN NOT ACCEPT-
ING RESIGNATION OF JOHN FROM LABOUR SEAT JAMSHEDPUR IN FAVOUR
OF PROFESSOR BARI AS ALSO EXCLUSION OF SAME FROM CABINET.
PREPARED TO RESORT HUNGERSTRIKE. INTERVENTION URGENTLY
SOLICITED.

FAAZKIAN NEBALSINGH
LABOUR
JAMSHEDPUR

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30 March 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your telegram of the 29th inst. regarding the Bihar Congress refusing acceptance of the resignation of Sjt. John in favour of Prof. Abdul Bari. You have also threatened to go on hunger-strike for the exclusion of Prof. Bari from the Bihar Cabinet. I am not an expert in fasting and I do not understand its philosophy. But I think a few days' fast will improve your mental and physical balance and it would do you a lot of good. So apart from your grievance against the Bihar Congress, it would certainly be wise to go on fast for a few days.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sjt. Faazkian Nebalsingh
C/o. Tata Workers' Union
Jamshedpur

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S.C.-V-7

4 Taylor Road
Patna
1 April 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

When I was at Delhi you wanted to know from me why action had not been taken against ex-constable Ramanand Tiwari.¹ I told you that when his case was referred to us by the Inspector-General of Police, we examined the leaflet on the strength of which prosecution was proposed to be launched and we felt that though it might result in the conviction of constable Ramanand Tiwari the statements made by him in the pamphlet which were mostly recapitulation of the demands of the constables, were not such as to convince the public at large that he had really violated the discipline of the police force. On return from Delhi I looked into the records and I find that what I had told you was correct. I may, however, inform you that action has been taken against Ramanand Tiwari in connection with the recent police strike. He has been arrested and put in jail and enquiries are being made into the charges brought against him.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Camp New Delhi
18 April 1947

My dear Sir,

In connection with the meeting of the Labour Ministers I came here and wanted to see you. While coming here I was given a note, which I am enclosing, by the Director of Publicity.

¹ Policeman who became subject of controversy, later entered politics and rose to be Minister in Bihar

The note explains itself and I hope you will kindly go through it and pass necessary orders.

Yours sincerely,
Anugraha Sinha¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

H. M. (Finance)

The Publicity Deptt. has arranged with M/s Magadh Arts for filming the scenes connected with Mahatma Gandhi's tours in Bihar. The firm has already produced two reels covering 1,700 feet. The film has been shown to private audiences and received commendation. It has, however, to be fitted into a wider setting of publicity in favour of communal harmony and rehabilitation, and much still remains to be done. Of great importance is the provision of sound to introduce commentaries. The recording of Mahatma Gandhi's prayer speeches is of utmost value. Mahatmaji is in our midst again and the recording of sound will be possible only now. I have discussed the matter with Miss Mridula Sarabhai² who does not see any insurmountable difficulty in persuading Mahatmaji to tolerate one more mike at his prayer meeting.

There is only one way of recording Mahatmaji's voice and that is to arrange for a portable sound machine for a few days. So far as is known to me, All India Radio have one such machine, which may perhaps be available to the Government of Bihar, if the importance of the occasion and the great value of recording Mahatma Gandhi's message of goodwill and communal harmony, for the whole country, is impressed upon the authorities of the Information and Broadcasting Department of the Government of India. As H.M. is going to Delhi, I venture to suggest that the Hon'ble Home Member may be contacted and this proposition placed before him. We shall lose a great opportunity if we are not able to record Mahatmaji's sound on this occasion. We require the portable sound machine for four days only exclusive of the time taken in transit. H.M. may settle other details by discussion. The machine is required at once.

Sd./- Illegible
Director of Publicity

14-4-47

¹ Congressman who became Finance Minister of Bihar after independence

² Member of family of textile magnates of Ahmedabad; twice General Secretary of Congress under Nehru's presidentship; close associate of Sheikh Abdullah of Kashmir

New Delhi
22 April 1947

My dear Anugraha Babu,

On my return from a Gujarat tour I received your letter regarding the loan of a recording machine in order to facilitate the filming of the scenes connected with Gandhiji's tour in Bihar.

We have a machine available, but it would be most embarrassing to make a loan of it to a provincial Government. Other provincial Governments may ask for the machine for different purposes which may not be as laudable as yours and it would be difficult to refuse the request. I am sure you will appreciate the position. I personally feel that it should be possible for you to make arrangements through some film companies or other private firms.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Anugraha Narain Sinha
Finance Minister, Government of Bihar
Patna

New Delhi
8 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Please refer to your letter dated 27 April 1947 and my reply thereto of 28 April 1947 regarding the law and order position in Bihar.

2. I have had discussions on this question with the Bihar Premier and have impressed on him the need for maintaining strict discipline and good morale in his police force. He has promised to make every effort to this end and I have no doubt that he will fulfil his promise. I have also told him that in this task he will have my full support and you can assure the Governor that I shall not spare myself in supporting the Prime Minister in such action as he considers necessary to achieve this object.

3. The Governor has also referred to the part the Socialists are taking in fomenting trouble among the rank and file of the police. This question is engaging the attention of the Congress Working Committee and you can rest assured that they will take appropriate action.

4. Regarding the anti-smuggling force, I understand from the Premier that the Government have decided to disarm it.

5. As regards the appointment of a commission to enquire into the Bihar riots, I agree with the Governor and yourself that this step would be most inadvisable. I have exerted my influence to the extent I could to dissuade Gandhiji from pursuing this matter further, but the difficulty is created by the insistent demand of the League leaders, both inside and outside the province. Suhrawardy has written and spoken to Gandhiji on this subject and Mr. Jinnah, during his last interview with Gandhiji, also referred to this matter. In the circumstances, the best course may lie in delays and that I understand the Prime Minister is doing.

6. The Governor has been good enough to refer to my support to the Prime Minister in a strong line against the prominent members of the Congress Socialist Party and other individuals and measures undermining the discipline of the police force in the province. You know full well how anxious I am to exert myself to the utmost of my capacity to maintain peace and security in India. I hope you will convey to the Governor the pledge of my firm support to his Prime Minister in achieving this in the province of Bihar.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H. E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

108

Viceregal Lodge
Simla
13 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you very much for your letter of 8 May containing the assurance of your support to the Prime Minister of Bihar in maintaining the discipline and morale of the police and law and order generally in the province.

2. I shall convey your message to the Governor of Bihar, which I am sure he will be very glad to receive.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

109

New Delhi
8 May 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

I should like to know whether you have been able to trace the slip which was written by Mridulaben about the six INA people, to whom it was suggested that arms should be supplied at the instance of Col. Shah Nawaz.

I have drawn your attention to the weak spots in your administration, and I trust that you will lose no time in setting right the defects as quickly as possible.

There should be no feeling amongst the officers that there is interference from outside or from the Ministry within the sphere of their authority in the administration. The key to efficient administration is the sense of security in the service at the top and non-interference by Congressmen or other people connected either with the Congress or with the Ministers in the administration. The Ministers should not give direct orders to any subordinate officers, and they must deal with them through their superiors.

I regret to find that the only Ministry which is being criticised from responsible quarters is the Bihar Ministry. You had a great blow to bear in connection with the communal disturbances. That had affected your Ministry's reputation to some extent. The activities of the Socialist Party in Bihar, which you have not been able to control either by vigorous measures taken by the Government or by disciplinary control through the Congress organisation, have affected considerably the reputation of the Ministry. The recent police mutiny has exposed the weakness of the administration of your Ministry, and it is generally believed that, if any crisis were to come, the Bihar Government would not be able to rely upon the police force against the Socialists. If you find that any attempt is being made to use the name of Gandhiji, you must immediately inform him about it, or write to me; but your facts must be unchallengeable.

On the question of a commission of enquiry, you were not able to express your opinion frankly and firmly before Gandhiji. If you feel that such an enquiry is likely to do more harm than good, you must be able to take a firm stand and must not allow others to believe that you had no objection to have such a commission appointed.

On the question of taking immediate possession of the zamindari estates, the Parliamentary Board has already given you instructions, and about the liquidation of the system, you must prepare a scheme and submit it to the Board for approval.

I do not know whether your Ministry is acting as a team, or there are dissensions and there is neither unity of purpose nor joint responsibility. It is your responsibility as Prime Minister to maintain the reputation of the Ministry as a whole for efficient and clean administration.

I trust that you will consider all this with your colleagues and see that in future there is no room for complaints or criticisms.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

110

New Delhi
9 May 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

I have seen an extract from the report of the Bihar CID for the second half of April 1947 according to which it appears that

- (a) Ministerial officers of Government have been noticed putting on a badge on which it was superscribed "A living wage is one's birth right" and there is a possibility of a strike being launched.
- (b) The jail staff at Laheriasarai are completely demoralised owing to the activities of Mr. Suraj Narain Singh and his sympathisers.
- (c) There is some likelihood of a police strike on a wide scale.

2. This report is very disturbing and if the position is as stated, it seems that both the police and jail staff and the ministerial officers are getting out of control. I need hardly say that such a state of affairs spells disaster for the province. Energetic action is necessary if we are to prevent matters from getting worse and then to restore discipline among the staff, whether they be ministerial, jail or police. It is obvious that we cannot mark time and if government is to be carried on in a business-like manner, such subversive activities must be put down with a strong hand. If we are to tolerate such activities from any quarters, howsoever important or influential they may be, we shall cease to discharge the very primary function of Government, namely, to govern. I would, therefore, ask you to pay immediate attention to these matters and to take vigorous action to deal with them. I should, of course, like to be kept in touch with the developments.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

111

Patna
11 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

From the talks that I had with you and the Viceroy at Delhi regarding the employment of INA men by our Government, I feel that things have perhaps not been properly represented to you and I, therefore, think that I should apprise you of the true facts in that connection.

From what the Viceroy told me it appears that he has been given the impression that the force employed by this Government to check smuggling was a private army. In your talk with me in Bhangi Colony you referred to the fact of this force having been placed in charge of a retired deputy magistrate. This strengthens my suspicion that it has been represented to Delhi that the anti-smuggling force was a private organisation. I, therefore, feel that all the facts regarding this force should be placed before you.

Even before we took office the Section 93 Government had employed an anti-smuggling staff to patrol the rivers and guard

the strategic points in the frontier line of the province to check smuggling. This staff was on a temporary basis. Soon after we took office the question of extension of their term came up before Government. The office while putting up a note regarding the extension observed that the staff "had done very little and effective work in checking smuggling." The Secretary (Supply), while endorsing this note to the Hon'ble Minister (Supply) also remarked that the previous Government had doubts "whether the staff should be continued on account of frequent reports against the staff of either non-enforcement or complexity with smugglers." Smuggling had become a menace and so Government could not think of letting it go unchecked. It was, therefore, in the alternative decided to reconstitute a new anti-smuggling force. The details of the scheme were discussed and laid down in the file and the retired deputy magistrate, who has already been re-employed by Government as Additional Secretary to Government in the Political Department to organise a campaign against corruption, was also invested with the work of organising anti-smuggling and he, therefore, was given the task of organising the anti-smuggling force on the lines decided by Government. The file then was sent to the Governor and on 17 November 1946 he too approved the anti-smuggling scheme as adumbrated in that file.

Now I would like to refer to the appointment of INA men in this force. I may tell you that it was in a Cabinet meeting presided over by the Governor that it was decided that while INA men could not be employed in the regular police force, they could be employed for doing anti-smuggling work. Even in the file referred to above which went to the Governor for the approval of the anti-smuggling scheme, there was a mention at one place of the fact that the Hon'ble Minister (Supply) had ordered that while recruiting men to the force preference was to be given to INA men, if available. The Governor while approving the scheme did not take exception to this.

I don't know the state of things in other provinces; but in my province corruption and smuggling were rampant and there was a great demand that Government should take up seriously the question of checking them. It was in response to this demand that an anti-corruption section was organised. The work of anti-corruption could not be successful unless a man of known ability and approved integrity was put in charge of it. It was here that we thought of Mr. Pande, the retired deputy magistrate. Mr. Pande is a man of integrity and parts and he is patriotic. It was

because of this that he incurred the displeasure of the Government that went before us and could not rise to the post to which a member of the Provincial Civil Service of his abilities could rise and had to retire as a deputy magistrate. We had to think of a retired man also because we were short of officers. He was re-employed and appointed Additional Secretary, Political Department, and put directly in charge of the anti-corruption section. I know the opinion that the Governor has got of this gentleman and there is nothing strange in it. But I will request you not to be influenced by what he might have said about this gentleman in his letter to Delhi. Mr. Pande is the best man that the Government in their anxiety to fight corruption could think of and naturally when the question of putting down smuggling came up he was put in charge of that work too which was of an allied nature.

The INA men were employed in the rank of the anti-smuggling force because it was thought that they would be able to put drive and zeal in the work of putting down smuggling which had become a menace and, I must say, that in the beginning they fully justified this expectation. The Governor at no stage objected to their being so employed. It is very easy to be wise after the event. But if he had any fundamental objection to their being so employed he had occasions to do that before the sad incident which resulted in the death of Professor Bari. When the requisition for rifles for these INA men employed in the force came up to Government, it was again the late IG, Mr. Creed,¹ who enjoyed the confidence of the Governor and the disregard of whose advice has been, according to him, responsible for so many of the ills from which the province has suffered, who supplied rifles to them. Here again there was no opposition to rifles being supplied by the Governor.

I have already told you that it has been decided to disarm and disband these INA men employed in the force. On my return from Delhi I enquired from the officers concerned as to the progress made in this. I am told that almost all of them have already been disarmed excepting a few and these also will be disarmed in a day or two. It was thought politic not to issue order for disbanding before they have been actually disarmed. It is hoped that in the course of the next week the disbanding will be complete.

¹ Clarence James Creed: appointed to Indian Police and posted to Bihar in 1919; Inspector-General of Police, 1944; retired in 1949

Much has been said about the unfortunate spirit of the strike amongst the police force and we have been charged with not having firmly tried to stop it. In this connection I would only like to tell you that we inherited from the Section 93 Government which preceded us a police force saturated with a spirit of strike. You are perhaps aware that the day we assumed office we were faced with an ultimatum of strike by the police. We smelled something suspicious in it. However, one inference can certainly be drawn from it and it is this that Ramanand Tiwari and others had been working amongst the police force long before we took office and there was an open movement amongst the police for launching a strike. I do not know what prevented the then Governor from striking Ramanand Tiwari and those of his friends who were fomenting the spirit of strike amongst the police. There were no Ministers then to fetter his discretion and resort to strong action. But nothing was done by the previous Government in this connection. A legacy was kept ready to be inherited by us and then we were asked to proceed precipitously in dealing with a situation created by the threat of a strike. You will appreciate our anxiety to proceed cautiously in a matter affecting the police force specially at a time when all round we had in key posts gentlemen whom I will never credit with the intention of co-operating with the Government in order to make it a success.

From your talks at Bhangi Colony I could gather that the Governor has written to Delhi about the inconveniences from which the constabulary are still suffering and I suspect that he has done so with a view to impress upon Delhi that we are still not dealing with the police in a proper manner. If my suspicion is correct then I must say that it is a gross misrepresentation of facts. You are perhaps aware that soon after we assumed office we made generous concessions to the demands of the constabulary, and before the last police strike was launched we appointed a senior superintendent of police to enquire into the other grievances of the police and suggest remedies. That officer is still engaged in this work. In your talks at Bhangi Colony you referred to the bad housing accommodation of the police. It is extremely regrettable that the Governor should have made a mention of it in his letter to Delhi. There was a great expansion of the police force in 1942 and the difficulties with regard to housing accommodation [were] the direct result of that expansion. The Section 93 Government had enough of money at their disposal, but they did nothing to remove this difficulty of the police. The present position is that schemes for the construction of new

houses for the police have been sanctioned and a sum of several lakhs of rupees have been allotted for it. But the difficulty in our way is that it is not possible to get these schemes executed soon, because on account of the post-war development plan every department of Government has come up with big schemes for building and road-making and so the PWD is faced with a heavy programme of construction of buildings and roads. Under the circumstances there is bound to be some delay in the construction of new buildings for the police force. The Governor must be knowing all this and so it was highly improper for him to make a reference to it in his letter to Delhi.

What I have written above I have written on the basis of the impression which I got from my talks with you and the Viceroy at Delhi. I feel things are not being represented correctly and I strongly protest against it.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

112

TELEGRAM

Patna
20 May 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie

ZAMINDARI ACQUISITION BILL TABLED FOR TODAY'S SITTING OF LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY WHICH I AM POSTPONING TILL TOMORROW IN VIEW OF YOUR INSTRUCTIONS THAT FOR LIQUIDATION OF ZAMINDARIS SCHEME SHOULD BE PREPARED AND SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL. PLEASE WIRE INSTRUCTIONS WHETHER THE PRESENT BILL SHOULD BE INTRODUCED INTO THE ASSEMBLY AND CIRCULATED FOR ELICITING PUBLIC OPINION. MOST MEMBERS CABINET FAVOUR THIS COURSE AND PARTY OVERWHELMINGLY SUPPORTS INTRODUCTION. TRIED SPEAK YOU ON THE PHONE BUT FAILED TO CATCH YOUR VOICE.

SRI KRISHNA SINHA

113

TELEGRAM

Camp Mussoorie

21 May 1947

Srikrishna Sinha
Patna

YOUR TELEGRAM OF YESTERDAY RECEIVED THIS MORNING. FULL INSTRUCTIONS WERE GIVEN TO YOU BY PARLIAMENTARY BOARD. I AM SURPRISED THAT YOU SHOULD NEED ANY FURTHER INSTRUCTIONS AT SUCH SHORT NOTICE. YOUR COURSE IS CLEAR. YOU MUST ABIDE BY THE DIRECTIONS OF PARLIAMENTARY BOARD.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

114

18 June 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

I understand that your Ministry have appointed Bipin Babu as manager of Bettiah State. He has come to me for advice. I know something of the past when he was in charge as manager of that State. It is not a bed of roses and no public man of his position would like to be placed in a position where there is a possibility of friction and undue interference which would result in creating misunderstanding amongst friends. I have advised him to accept the appointment as both you and Anugraha Babu have agreed on this point. But I have asked him to have a clear understanding on certain points from you before his accepting the responsibility. He will come to you and explain to you his doubts and difficulties and I trust you will be able to satisfy him.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

109

Patna
25 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I enclose herewith a copy of a D.O. letter addressed to Rajaji for allotting some paper to the provincial Government for printing and publishing Bihar Samachar (a daily paper), pamphlets, handbills, etc. in connection with the rehabilitation work in Bihar. I shall be thankful and obliged if you will please help the provincial Government in securing the full quota of paper required as early as possible. The urgency of paper will be evidenced from the letter enclosed and I hardly need reiterate the same.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. Q. Ansari¹

The Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE
EXTRACTS

25 June 1947

My dear Rajaji,

I propose to have a series of pamphlets, posters and hand-bills published in connection with the rehabilitation work in Bihar, besides printing and publishing one lakh copies of Bihar Samachar (a daily paper).

It will involve a huge job requiring a huge quantity of paper.

To be frank, I must confess that without taking recourse to the proposed publicity programme and doggedly following it up, it would be very difficult, if not impossible, to make any headway with the rehabilitation work in the province. It is in the matter of allotment and supply of paper for the purpose, I should admit, that the provincial Government stand in the need of your Government's co-operation and active help.

¹ Minister for Public Works and Public Health, Government of Bihar, 1946-52; Leader of Momins and Backward Muslims

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
A. Q. Ansari

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
Member, Industries & Supply
New Delhi

116

New Delhi
28 June 1947

My dear Ansari,

Please see your letter of 25 June 1947 regarding allotment of paper for printing and publishing Bihar Samachar. I have supported your request to Rajaji.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Abdul Qayyum Ansari
Patna

117

New Delhi
28 June 1947

My dear Rajaji,

Abdul Qayyum Ansari has written to me to reinforce his request to you for the allotment of paper to the Bihar Government for printing and publishing Bihar Samachar. You know the difficulties with which the provincial Government are faced. They have to deal with a large proportion of ill-disposed men among all sections of the population. They have their difficulties with the League and with the Socialists, to say nothing of Communists and other left-wingers. Publicity would be the most effective means of winning public opinion and I am sure making an allowance for these factors, you will do the best you can to meet their request.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

New Delhi
27 June 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

I have been hearing disturbing reports about the labour situation in Jamshedpur. This morning I had a talk with the Iron & Steel Controller who happened to visit Delhi. You know full well how difficult the steel position is in the country, and it is impossible for us to contemplate with equanimity the continuance of such a situation in Jamshedpur. It is neither wise nor expedient that we should deal with the situation when it worsens. The prudent course obviously is to take sufficiently preventive measures in advance; otherwise we have to face the odium of unpleasantly drastic measures.

2. Having regard to these aspects, I feel that you should ask your Home Minister immediately to proceed to Jamshedpur and to appraise the situation from the law and order point of view. The Labour Minister might also accompany him, so that the labour aspect could also be considered. On their advice, you should take immediately such preventive measures as are necessary. The danger period, I am told, is likely to be between 3 and 10 July when the payments will be made. You must see that nothing untoward happens.

3. I should like to get a report from you of the action taken and the result of the visit, before 3 July.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

New Delhi
25 September 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

Rajen Babu has shown me some correspondence with Jairamdas [Doulatram]¹ about the latter's position as Governor vis-a-vis yourself. Both Rajen Babu and I are much distressed to know that there is not that complete mutual trust and confidence which is not only required by the circumstances in which we find ourselves but also by constitutional propriety. It is well known that a constitutional Governor's position is to advise and warn his Prime Minister or the Cabinet; but, if despite this the Prime Minister or the Cabinet decides to follow a different course, he must take their advice. In order faithfully to discharge this responsibility, it is necessary that the Governor should have access to relevant files and information. To withhold it from him would be seriously to cripple him in the functions of his office.

2. I could understand your hesitation or disinclination to let the Governor see the relevant files, if we did not have our own man as Governor. Past experience or prejudices are now out of place. You have to consider the whole position in relation to the facts that the Governor of your province is an Indian and a trusted and responsible Congressman who has been a member of the Congress Working Committee. There is no reason why, if the Governor wishes to keep himself in touch with developments in relation to certain vital matters, you should not take him into confidence or let him see the relevant papers.

3. I hope, in the light of what I have said above, you will see your way to accommodate Jairamdas's wishes in the matter. I have no doubt, and Rajen Babu agrees, that he is correct in the position which he has taken. If, in spite of it, any difficulties develop and a crisis comes up, it would be most unfortunate both for you and the province and for all of us. What he is asking is very much less than what has been conceded to Rajaji by

¹ MLC (Bombay) 1927-29; General Secretary, AICC, 1931-34; member, Congress Working Committee; member, CA, 1946; Bihar Governor, 1947; later Union Food Minister and Governor, Assam

the West Bengal Government or to Dr. Katju¹ by the Orissa Government. I hope you will calmly reflect over the advice I am giving you and yourself realise that in such mutual accommodation between yourself and the Governor lies your strength.

4. Bapu has also seen the correspondence and agrees that you should accommodate Jairamdas in this matter and establish friendly and trustful relations with the Governor.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

120

New Delhi
25 September 1947

My dear Jairamdas,

Rajen Babu has given me your letter to him. He is ill and, therefore, cannot write to you or to Sri Babu. I have, therefore, written the enclosed letter to the latter. [See No. 119.]

I hope things would improve as a result of this letter and that you will not take any hasty action. We are all very sorry to know that these developments should have taken place.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Jairamdas Doulatram
Governor of Bihar
Patna

¹Dr. K. N. Katju: Governor of Orissa, 1947; later Minister of Home and Defence in Nehru Cabinet; retired as Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh

121

New Delhi
12 October 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

I wrote to you on 25 September about certain matters regarding your relations with the Governor. I have neither had an acknowledgment nor a reply. I hope it has not gone astray. However, I am enclosing a copy in case you have not yet received my letter. I should be glad of a very early reply.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Sri Krishna Sinha
Camp Ranchi

122

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
12 October 1947

To

- (1) Hon'ble Sri Krishna Sinha
Ranchi
- (2) His Excellency Shri Jairamdas Doulatram
Ranchi

I SENT A LETTER TO YOU ON 25 SEPTEMBER BUT HAVE RECEIVED NEITHER ACKNOWLEDGMENT NOR REPLY. PLEASE INFORM ME AT ONCE WHETHER LETTER REACHED YOU.

VALLABHBHAI

123

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
12 October 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

RECEIVED. HAVE WRITTEN YESTERDAY.

JAIRAMDAS

124

TELEGRAM

Ranchi
14 October 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR LETTER DATED 25 SEPTEMBER REACHED ME IN MY ABSENCE
ON TOUR. REPLY WILL FOLLOW SHORTLY.

SRIKRISHNA

125

Patna
6 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I received today your letter regarding the Patna-Ranchi radio
station. Thanks.

I came here . . . on 31 October.

Sri Babu has taken no step at all this week as promised.
He left Patna on 1 November for a tour without meeting me as
he had said to me at Ranchi he would do. Nor has he written
to me anything so far, after he has left. All this is an extraordi-
nary manner of dealing with an urgent and important matter or

with a person chosen by him and who is sincerely anxious to serve the province and help the Ministry.

Some officials also wish that I should have no opportunity to advise since they are now able to rule as they like through some good-natured Ministers.

You had advised me not to take any hasty action. Six weeks have passed since then. All sorts of action are being taken by the Ministers without my being in a position to give them in time my advice, views, suggestions even confidentially!

I am awaiting your further guidance in the matter. How long can things drift on like this? Something definite needs to be done now early.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jairamdas Doulatram

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

126

TELEGRAM

Patna
23 November 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

AWAITING INTIMATION RESULT TALKS DUE ON TWENTIETH.

JAIRAMDAS

127

TELEGRAM

24 November 1947

His Excellency Governor of Bihar
Patna

THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM 23 NOVEMBER. LETTER FOLLOWS.

VALLABHBHAI

106 Constitution House
New Delhi
24 November 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

With reference to our talk in the morning and as desired by you, I send you herewith:

- (1) the Rules of Business made under Section 59;
- (2) the schedule of subjects allotted to the several departments assigning distribution of work amongst Ministers; and
- (3) instructions regarding business of Government issued under the Rules made under Section 59.

Item Nos. (1) and (2) will give a complete picture of the relations of the Prime Minister and other Ministers and the Governor. Item No. (2) will describe the division of work.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
24 November 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

Some time back while at Ranchi I received a letter from you regarding our relationship with the Governor of my province. It is a fact that some difference has arisen between us and him as to the function of a Governor with regard to the transaction

¹ Popularly known as Balasaheb Kher; solicitor; entered politics in 1922; Secretary of Swaraj Party and of Bardoli Satyagraha Inquiry Committee; emerged on national scene in 1937 when Sardar Patel selected him in preference to K. F. Nariman as leader, Bombay Legislature Congress Party; became first Premier of Bombay; later High Commissioner in London

of the business of Government. With the passing of the Independence Act the position of the Governor in the Government has completely changed. He is now a constitutional Governor in the real sense of the term and so his function with regard to the execution of government business should be that of such a Governor. The view that Shri Jairamdasji seems to take of the function of a Governor does not seem to me to be justified by the present constitutional position and this has been the reason of the unfortunate difference.

I always felt sure that I was right in the constitutional view that I took of the matter. But I thought that before I replied to you I had better consulted the Premiers of the other provinces. I placed this matter before my Cabinet and my colleagues also advised me to do that. So on my reaching Delhi I put myself in contact with Pantji, Shri Kher and Shuklaji¹. They all agree with me in the view that I have taken of the matter and the rules of executive business that they have framed or are about to frame are on the line on which I intend to frame them. Shri Kher has given me a copy of the new rules of executive business of the Bombay Government and I will recommend to my Cabinet to frame the rules of executive business on the lines of these rules. I think Shri Jairamdasji should have no objection to this.

I may assure you that I will always do my best to see that there is a spirit of perfect goodwill and co-operation between the Governor and myself and my colleagues. It will be my honest endeavour to keep him in touch with everything important and have the benefit of his advice.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

¹ Pandit Ravishankar Shukla: Entered Legislative Council of Central Provinces in 1923 as member of Swaraj Party; Minister of Education, July 1937; Premier, August 1938; Chief Minister of CP after Independence and later of reformed State of Madhya Pradesh until 1956

New Delhi
25 November 1947

My dear Jairamdas,

Thank you for your telegram of 23 November 1947.

2. I discussed this matter on a general basis and not particularly with reference to you with the Premiers who had come to attend the conference convened by me on 22 November. I found that except in West Bengal, and possibly in Orissa, Governors did not see the files or interview officers individually. The case of UP is peculiar on account of its Governor, but I found that generally the practice was on the lines of Bombay rules a copy of which I have asked Kher to send to me. Bombay or Madras would be a particularly good precedent because both these provinces have as Governors men from parliamentary life in England. The Governor of Bombay is particularly fully conversant with the constitutional practice as he was a Whip of the Conservative Party. I shall send you the rules when they are received from Balasaheb. Sri Babu has agreed and is willing to implement those rules in Bihar.

3. Apart from this I feel that constitutionally the position that you must see files or interview individual officers would not be tenable having regard to your position as a constitutional Governor. The case of Rajaji or Katju is different because in these provinces the Ministry is itself desirous of leaning on the Governor for support. I hope, therefore, that you will review the whole position when you get a copy of Bombay rules and I sincerely wish you will accept those rules in regard to the relationship between yourself and the Ministry.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Shri Jairamdas Doulatram
Patna

New Delhi
29 November 1947

My dear Jairamdas,

In continuation of my letter dated 25 November 1947, I am sending herewith copies of the Rules of Business and Instructions regarding the business of the Government at present in force in Bombay. Instructions 7(a) and (g), 15, 24(2), 26, 27(2) and 40 are relevant. It is quite clear that no files are to be sent to the Governor, though copies of important letters, telegrams and orders are forwarded to him for his information.

Similarly, a list of business for every meeting of the Council and subsequently copies of the proceedings are also sent to the Governor. To my mind, this is sufficient, for purposes of a Constitutional Governor, to advise his Ministry on important matters before final decisions are made and to acquaint himself with important developments taking place in various departments. I would, therefore, suggest that similar rules may be made in Bihar province.

I should be glad if you would kindly return the copies of the rules and instructions.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Jairamdas Doulatram
Patna

TELEGRAM

Allahabad
14 December 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Government House
Cuttack

REGARDING BIHAR RAJENDRA BABU CONSULTING FRIENDS. REQUIRES
MORE TIME FOR CONSIDERATION.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

133

TELEGRAM

16 December 1947

From
Chief Secretary
Bihar Patna
To
Foreign New Delhi

FOR HON'BLE PRIME MINISTER/HOME MINISTER INDIA. THE INDIAN NATION OF PATNA PUBLISHES TODAY IN BROAD HEADLINES NEWS THAT GOVERNOR OF BIHAR RESIGNS BECAUSE HE REFUSES TO BE A SILENT SPECTATOR OF CONGRESS MINISTRY'S MISDEEDS. THE PAPER FURTHER SAYS THAT REASONS FOR THIS MOMENTOUS DECISION APPEARS TO BE THAT UNDER HIS VERY NOSE HIS EXCELLENCY FINDS WIDESPREAD CORRUPTION, FAVOURITISM AND MUDDLE AND HE FINDS THAT OWING TO CONGRESS MINISTRY'S ATTITUDE REFUSING THE GOVERNOR TO HAVE HIS SAY, HIS EXCELLENCY HAS TO BE A SILENT SPECTATOR OF ALL MISDEEDS AND BUNGLINGS OF MINISTRY. GOVERNMENT HERE DO NOT KNOW SHRI JAIRAMDASJI HAS RESIGNED AND THAT TOO FOR THESE REASONS. NOW AS A VERSION DAMAGING REPUTATION OF MINISTRY HAS APPEARED IN THE PRESS, IT IS VERY NECESSARY THAT GOVERNMENT HERE SHOULD KNOW IF IT IS A FACT THAT HE HAS RESIGNED AND THAT TOO FOR REASONS MENTIONED ABOVE.

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TELEGRAM

16 December 1947

From Ministry of Home Affairs New Delhi
To Chief Secretary Bihar Patna

FOLLOWING FOR SRI KRISHNA SINHA FROM SARDAR PATEL. YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 15 DECEMBER RECEIVED BY ME TODAY ON RETURN FROM TOUR. THERE IS NO TRUTH WHATSOEVER IN THE REPORT REGARDING JAIRAMDAS'S RESIGNATION OR OF THE REASONS STATED THEREIN.

122

Government House
Patna
23 December 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I understand that the Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Department at New Delhi has issued provisional instructions that the representative in the province of the Central Intelligence Department (who is an officer of the Government of India) should not hereafter send copies [of] his daily and fortnightly reports to the Governor. These reports are sent to the head office of the Central Intelligence Department. The practice of sending copies to the Governor is in my view exceedingly desirable because it enables the Governor to remain in touch with the under-currents in the province and from the point of peace and tranquillity they contain valuable information. To keep the Governor in ignorance even about the development of things which may at any time affect the peace of the province is in my view very risky and inadvisable at this juncture and in the present uncertain situation before the country. I do not see what harm there can be in the Governor getting copies of these reports which are sent to the Government of India. I hope you will kindly go into this matter and allow the present practice to continue.

I hope you will be able to have me relieved early. I have written to Panditji on the 21st with a request to inform you also.

I hope you are in the best of health.

Yours sincerely,
Jairamdas

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
27 December 1947

My dear Jairamdas,

I have got your letter of the 23rd instant. We are awaiting Dr. Rajendra Prasad's return and as soon as he comes back, a final formal decision will be taken. In fact it has been settled now and there will be no more delay.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Jairamdas Doulatram
Governor of Bihar
Patna

Birla Niwas
Mussoorie
23 October 1947

My dear Maniben,

I wanted to show this to Sardarji but forgot. This will also interest Bapu. You will see from this that most of the important persons are involved in this transaction. There is nothing new in it what we did not know. But now it has come out in the Press.

Since I have come here I am taking long walks and am feeling much better. I want to go as soon as I feel quite fit.

Yours affectionately,
Ghanshyamdas [Birla]¹

Miss Maniben Patel
New Delhi

¹ Leading industrialist; MLA (Central), resigned in protest against legislation for imperial preference in 1930; President, Indian Chamber of Commerce, 1924; President, FICCI, 1929

ENCLOSURE
PROFITEERING IN MOLASSES
CORRUPTION IN BIHAR MINISTRY?

Ranchi, 13 Oct. Purchasing molasses under Government permits at 4 annas per maund and selling it at a price twenty to thirty times the control price is an easy way to make money in the province of Bihar.

Total output of molasses in Bihar in 1946-47 amounted to 13½ lakhs of maunds. Eight and a half lakhs of maunds were supplied to distilleries in the province. Two and a half lakhs of maunds were supplied to the Bengal Government. Ten per cent of the total output remained with the factories for disposal to private individuals.

Interpellations in the Bihar Legislative Assembly elicited that the Excise Commissioner issued permits for a total quantity of 2½ lakhs of maunds under statutory authority vested in him. Relatives of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries received permits to the extent of about 70,000 maunds.

On an average profit of Rs. 5 per maund, the control over distribution of molasses enabled a favoured few to profiteer to the extent of Rs. 12½ lakhs, all of which was ultimately paid by the consumer.

Hon'ble Mr. Krishnaballabh Sahay¹ disclosed in the Bihar Legislative Assembly that some of the recipients were close relations or associates of eminent Congress leaders including Dr. Syed Mahmud, Development Minister, Mr. Prabhunath Singh, Chief Whip (Congress Party in the Bihar Assembly), Mr. Jagat Narain Lal, MLA, Mr. Bipin Behari Varma, Mr. Sukhlal Singh (Parliamentary Secretary), Mr. Mahamaya Prasad (then MLA and now president, Bihar Provincial Congress Committee), the Inspector-General of Police, and several others.

Mr. S. Mahmud, care of Dr. Syed Mahmud, Development Minister, received a permit for 10,000 maunds. While Mr. Ramsundar Tiwari, care of Mr. Bipin Behari Varma, Bettiah, Champaran, obtained a permit for 12,000 maunds in instalments. Mr S. Ali, care of the Inspector-General of Police, received 10,000 maunds, whereas some persons and a trading company, care of Mr. Prabhunath Singh (Chief Whip), received 10,300 maunds. Mr. S. G. Chandra, care of Mr. Jagat Narain Lal, MLA, got 5,000 maunds and two addressees, care of Mr. Sukhlal Singh (Parliamentary Secretary), received 10,000 maunds. Mr. Chandrika Singh, care of Mr. Mahamaya Prasad, president,

¹ Chief Minister of Bihar, 1963-67

Bihar Provincial Congress Committee, received two permits totalling 10,000 maunds.

Free Press Journal

16 October 1947

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New Delhi

2 November 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

My attention has been drawn to the enclosed cutting [enclosure with No. 137]. It is amazing that such a thing should have happened in such an unseemly fashion. If the evil is as extensive and as high-placed as the reply makes it out, your Government should have dealt with the matter drastically before it became public. For the Minister to bring about such disclosure before taking the Cabinet or ultimately the Parliamentary Board into confidence is even more incomprehensible. I have no doubt whatsoever that both the disclosure and the manner of revealing it have brought the Congress organisation in Bihar into disgrace. I should very much like you to send me an immediate report on the whole matter.

2. I also fail to see how the Minister can put the blame for the issue of these permits either on the relatives of Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries concerned or on the Excise Commissioner. It is well known that a Minister is responsible for what happens in his department and if such an amazing thing that has happened the Minister must share the blame along with others on whom he is apparently trying to throw it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Sri Krishna Sinha
Ranchi

Government House
Ranchi
26 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I am writing this letter in connection with an official matter relating to Bihar. The province has been feeling very badly the need of a radio transmitting station to guide public opinion more effectively on several controversial public questions. We have to depend now entirely on the Press. It is not properly under our control or influence, and the administration feels badly handicapped for want of its own radio station.

2. Bihar was to receive a radio station in 1941, but the North-West Frontier Province was able to exert influence and so Peshawar was given the radio station originally expected to be given to Bihar. Peshawar radio station is now lost to us. I understand that there are several provinces with two radio stations and there are some others without any, and these are claiming to have a radio station. I do hope that Bihar will not be overstepped this time also. I have had a talk with the Prime Minister and he is equally keen in the matter. Mr. Choudhury, the Director-General of All-India Radio, was here two days ago. I have discussed this matter with him. We would need one radio station at Patna with a partial linking arrangement at Ranchi so as to get items relating to Adivasi culture into our programme, and also to appease the Adivasi feeling which is so hostile at present, since the Adivasis feel that the rest of Bihar does little for the Adivasi area. Mr. Choudhury felt that this linking arrangement would be a practical proposition.

3. Our idea is that the Patna-Ranchi radio station should commence functioning on Independence¹ Day, that is, 26 January. I understand that the intervening period would suffice to set up the arrangements. I have had a talk with Dr. P. K. Sen whose house was proposed to be taken as the temporary premises for the Patna-Ranchi radio station, and he is agreeable to hand over possession of his place on 1 November.

¹ It was on 26 January that the pledge of Independence adopted at the Lahore Congress in 1929 was taken annually. After the adoption of the Constitution of India 26 January is now observed annually as Republic Day.

I hope it would be possible for you to sanction this arrangement in time.

4. I hope Maniben received my letter written to her about a fortnight ago from Jamshedpur. I hope to write to her again tomorrow. Things may shape themselves well after all. I will know definitely in the first week of November.

I hope you are maintaining your health.

Yours sincerely,
Jairamdas

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
2 November 1947

My dear Jairamdas,

Thank you for your letter dated 26 October 1947. I shall look into the question of a radio station for Bihar. We are proceeding as expeditiously as possible with the installation of radio stations and Patna is, as you know, already on our priority list. We are trying to complete it as soon as possible.

2. Shri Babu has not yet sent me a reply. I was going to send him a reminder, but in view of para 4 of your letter which holds out some hope of things being satisfactorily settled this week, I am not doing so for the present.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri Jairamdas Doulatram
Government House
Ranchi

141

Patna
24 December 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I understand that you are likely to visit Patna on 26 January 1948 to perform the opening ceremony of the Patna station of All India Radio. May I request you to come over

to Patna to perform the opening ceremony? I shall be very glad if you will stay with me in Patna.

With pranam,

Yours sincerely,
S. K. Sinha

Sardar V. J. Patel
New Delhi

142

New Delhi
27 December 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

Thanks for your letter of the 24th instant. It is my intention to come there on 26 January 1948 for performing the opening ceremony of the Patna broadcasting station. Thank you for your invitation. I will inform you in time if there is any change.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sri Krishna Sinha
Patna

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TELEGRAM

Ranchi
12 November 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

RECEIVED YOUR LETTER DATED 2 NOVEMBER TODAY ON RETURN
FROM LONG TOUR. HENCE NOT POSSIBLE TO SEND REPLY IN TIME.

SRIKRISHNA

144

6 Ferozshah Road
Delhi
18 November 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I did not see you until yesterday because of the meeting of the AICC as I thought you might be very busy with it. Suddenly last night I was taken ill with rheumatic pain in my knee which has made it impossible for me today to move about. I hope to get sufficiently well by day after tomorrow to be able to come and see you and I shall be grateful if you kindly fix some time day after tomorrow, the 20th instant, if it suits your convenience.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. Sinha

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

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New Delhi
19 November 1947

My dear Sri Babu,

Thank you for your letter of 18 November 1947 which I received this morning. I am sorry to hear that you were laid up with rheumatic pain. If you could come to my room in the Council House some time tomorrow, say about 3 p.m., I would come out of the Assembly and we could have a chat.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri Sri Krishna Sinha
6 Ferozshah Road
New Delhi

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CHAPTER IV
TUG OF WAR IN BOMBAY

146

New Delhi
28 January 1947

My dear Morarji,

I have your letter of the 25th instant along with its enclosure, which is indeed very interesting.

I hope your trouble in Bombay has eased. When Balasaheb was here, we had discussed the question about Bombay at some length. It is a difficult thing as it has become chronic, and there are difficulties in making a change according to our requirements. However, some change will have to be made, and we shall have to await the result of the change.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Morarji Desai¹
Home Minister
Bombay

147

New Delhi
28 January 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

I suppose you must have settled the Bombay city question by now.

About the next question, your reference has been officially dealt with and you must have got a reply. It is also a difficult question, but you will have to tackle it firmly. I have been

¹ PCS, Bombay; resigned in 1930 to join civil disobedience movement; Minister, Bombay Government, 1937-39; Home Minister, 1946-52; Chief Minister, 1952-56; thereafter Central Minister of Commerce and Industry and later Finance; resigned under Kamaraj Plan, 1963; Deputy Prime Minister in Mrs. Gandhi's Cabinet, 1967-69

advising other provinces to be watchful and not allow the grass to grow. Madras has also taken action, and the CP also has done the same. The trouble is more in Bengal, Bihar and Bombay. These provinces will have to take action in their own manner according to local circumstances.

I understand a reference has been made from our department to you, along with other provinces, regarding the language question of All India Radio. I expect you will send your reply soon.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher
Prime Minister
Bombay

148

Secretariat
Bombay
3 February 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am sending with this a copy of a letter dated 28 January from Shri A. B. Latthe¹ and should like to know what reply should be sent to him.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Chairman, Congress Parliamentary Board
New Delhi

¹ Prominent Congress worker of Maharashtra; became Dewan of Kolhapur and later Finance Minister in Kher Ministry in Bombay

ENCLOSURE

Thalakwadi

Belgaum

28 January 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

I have decided to resign my seat in the Bombay Assembly in the first week of February. I hope you will have no objection to my doing so and will kindly request the Parliamentary Board to permit.

I shall be obliged by your replying to me in time for me to resign before I have to face the contingency of losing my seat for continuous absence.

Yours sincerely,

A. B. Latthe

Shri B. G. Kher

149

New Delhi

7 February 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

I have received your letter of the 3rd instant.

I had a letter from Mr. Latthe also. I agree that his resignation should be accepted. It is no use prolonging the matter, and as he does not find his abilities being utilised according to his estimate, the best thing is to accept it.

Yours sincerely,

Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher
Bombay

133

Bombay
9 April 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

The accompanying extract from the Tarun Bharat of Belgaum dated 4 March 1947, will, I am sure, interest you. The paper reports that you have written to Mr. Latthe that "the Bombay Ministry failed to take advantage of your high intellectual capacity. It is only right that you decided to resign in these circumstances." We are accused of having acted against the opinion of the High Command. This is the kind of propaganda they are doing.

I trust you are well. Our Legislature will be prorogued on the 12th.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Writing editorially under the caption "Mr Latthe's resignation: A Blunder Committed by the Kher Ministry," the Tarun Bharat remarks: Mr Latthe was neither taken in the Ministry nor did his colleagues consult him about its formation. It hurt him to see his colleagues look down upon him and that must have led to his resignation. Considering the proud record of his successful public career in various capacities—as a pioneer and pillar of the non-Brahmin movement, Prime Minister of Kolhapur State and adviser to the Deccan States, Member, Central Assembly, Round Table Conference delegate, author of a book on Federal Government for India etc.—Messrs. Gangadharrao Deshpande¹ and Shankarrao Deo² persuaded him to join the Congress in 1937. He then became the capable Finance Minister. But the absence of such an experienced, learned Minister in the present Ministry is responsible for the lack of unison in it. In fact he ought to have been included in the Ministry after his election.

¹ Prominent Congressman of Karnatak; later President, KPCC

² Congress leader from Maharashtra; joined non-co-operation movement in 1920; member, AICC and Working Committee; member, CA from Bombay

Among those elected to the Consembly from Bombay province there are very few to compare with Mr. Latthe. His exclusion from the Consembly has, therefore, added insult to injury. Sardar Patel, it is learnt, has written to Mr. Latthe, "The Bombay Ministry failed to take advantage of your high intellectual capacity. It is only right that you decided to resign in these circumstances." This will show how things, conflicting with party interests, have taken place against the opinion of the Congress High Command while forming the Ministry. . . ."

151

22 April 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

Please refer to your letter of the 9th instant with which you enclosed an extract from the Tarun Bharat of Belgaum.

The quotation from my letter given in the article is incorrect. I give below the text of the letter I sent him:

"I have your letter of the 2nd instant.

"I regret that your election has been of no use to you, and you have to adopt this course. But I see that you don't find your talents being properly utilised there and therefore I think the course that you have adopted is proper. However much I may regret your resignation from the Bombay Legislative Assembly, I feel that it is the best course under the circumstances. Let us hope that we will find some other opportunities for utilising your ability and talents.

"Hope you are doing well."

You can make any use you like of this extract.

Shankar tells me that the question of the residential accommodation for yourself and Shankarrao Deo has been settled as desired by you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher
Bombay

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106 Constitution House
New Delhi
28 April 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Re: Latthe

I received your letter of 22 April. Your letter has been misquoted by the Tarun Bharat, as is obvious. However, I do not propose to give it more publicity, but thank you for having cleared up the matter. What you have written is quite different from what Tarun Bharat conveyed to people.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

153

Bombay
22 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Enclosed is a note regarding the proposed disbandment of the 10th (Mahratta) Field Regiment, RIA.

I understand there is keen disappointment amongst Mahratta officers on account of the proposal. As stated towards the end of the note, it is curious that the only Field Regiment of Mahrattas should be proposed to be disbanded when the reduction could very well be made in the six Madrasi, three Punjabi or the other regiments. There is great dissatisfaction about this measure and I feel that we should do all we can to see that it is reconsidered and not carried into effect.

I thought it better to write to you in this matter and hope that you will give your full support to this request.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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ENCLOSURE

PROPOSED DISBANDMENT OF 10TH (MAHRATTA) FIELD REGIMENT, RIA

It is understood that orders to the effect that the 10th (Mahratta) Field Regt. RIA should be put into suspended animation have been received from GHQ S. Command. In a province like Bombay which contains a large Mahratta population this is a very disheartening piece of news.

During the war against both Germany and Japan the Mahratta Field gunners serving in the 2nd, 4th and 5th Indian Field Regts. did splendid work in countries as far distant as Libya, Burma and Java and their Divisional Commanders repeatedly testified to their sterling qualities.

With the end of the Japanese war and the new policy of making one-class Field Regts. these Mahratta gunners were thrown out of their units and the links of comradeship forged during the hard days of the war were snapped and the regimental pride was dissipated. Some of the gunners were sent to anti-tank regts. and the officers and men from the 4th Field Battery and 9th Field Battery who had won awards for their valiant deeds in war joined this regt. which at that time had no Mahratta tradition and was badly in need of experienced men. But when they returned from overseas service their allowances were discontinued and nothing was known about the new pay code. They became apprehensive about their future and, in the absence of proper lead, decided to go on release, all of them declaring, however, that they would join again when needed in the event of another war.

The present strength of the regt. is 352 including about 40 non-Mahrattas. There is no difficulty in maintaining one Battery at full strength and two in cadre form. Thirty-four men intended for this regt. have just been enlisted as the result of a recruiting tour in the Mahratta villages and there is a likelihood of getting some experienced men from 6/5 Mahrattas which is being disbanded.

There is also likely to be a large increase of recruits when the new pay code is announced and inquiries are being frequently received by the recruiting authorities from men formerly in 9th Battery what their chances would be if they re-enlisted.

The important point to note is that once these NCOs and men are posted to anti-tank and other regts. the nucleus of the regt. will have gone and it will be very difficult to start again. Mahrattas are averse to change and many who are DVI would rather return to their villages than try to learn some other form of soldiery. Moreover the difficulties experienced during the

formation of the 4th Field Regt. during the war will have to be undergone all over again when this Regt. emerges from its suspension. Out of the 17 Field Regts. which are likely to be in existence in the post-war Army 6 will be Madrasi, 4 Punjabi, 2 Sikhs and 2 Mixed, and yet this, the only Field Regt. of Mahrattas who are some of the finest soldiers in the world, is proposed to be disbanded in spite of their splendid gunnery tradition.

This province feels very strongly about the proposed disbandment and it is earnestly hoped that the whole case will be reconsidered in the light of what is stated above.

154

New Delhi
11 April 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

I am writing this with reference to your letter regarding the disbandment of the only Mahratta Field Regiment.

I represented the matter to the Defence Member. It appears, however, that the suspension of the regiment is unavoidable as sufficient Mahratta volunteers or recruits are not available to fill all the three Maharatta Artillery Regiments. The remaining two regiments, viz. 34 Mahratta Anti-Tank Regiment and 36 Parachute Anti-Tank Regiment, are both extremely important units and must be maintained at full strength. These two regiments were some 330 men short and there were no Mahrattas available except in the 10 Field Regiment which had just over 300. In order to make up the shortage, therefore, the disbandment of the 10 Field Regiment became unavoidable.

I understand that Mahratta recruiting is at the moment difficult and in any case since it takes a sufficiently long period to train a recruit no amount of fresh recruiting could have relieved the shortage which existed.

I hope that in the light of this explanation you will be able to appreciate the administrative necessity underlying the disbandment which has created a certain amount of discontent to which you have referred in your letter. The position may be suitably explained so that no further misunderstandings on this question arise.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Balasaheb Kher

Bombay
14 April 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 11 April regarding the disbandment of the only Mahratta Field Regiment.

I am afraid it will not satisfy those who complained to me, but I realise that there is nothing more that we can do at this stage and I will convey the information contained in your letter to all concerned.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
26 March 1947

My dear Morarji,

The Home Department here have brought to my notice that the Bombay Government have accepted only two out of the five war-service candidates offered to them for appointment to the Indian Police in Bombay. The remaining three have apparently been rejected on the ground that they are not graduates.

2. I fully appreciate your insistence on the possession of a degree, but we have to accept the legacy of the past. Unfortunately our civil selection boards have classified some of the undergraduates as better than graduates, and it would not, therefore, be possible to give graduates only to the Bombay Government. Other provinces have accepted the position, and I suggest that you do the same. You could keep them on probation for a year and if at the end of a year you don't find them satisfactory, it is of course open to you to reject them altogether.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Morarji Desai
Bombay

Bombay
8 April 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

Please refer to your letter of the 26th ultimo regarding appointment of war-service candidates to the All India Police Service. On reconsideration, the Bombay Government agrees to accept the three candidates previously rejected on the condition mentioned by you, viz., to keep them on probation for a year and to absorb them permanently only if they are found satisfactory at the end of that period. The Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, has been informed by telegram accordingly and it has also been made clear to him that this Government will not accept non-graduates for the All India Administrative and Police Services in future.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

11 April 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

In connection with the conversation I had with you when we met here last, I had written to Mr. S. K. Patil¹ and the reply I have received is full of complaints against the Ministry on serious matters. I am enclosing herewith a copy of it for your information. I am not sending the enclosures which would make the letter very heavy. The letter is undoubtedly such as would require careful consideration and if some of the complaints mentioned therein are genuine something should be done to readjust your relations with the provincial organisation. You have the Maharashtra Congress organisation hostile and not

¹ General-Secretary of Bombay PCC for 17 years till 1946 when he became its President; member, Bombay Assembly, 1937-46; member, CA, 1947-48; MP, 1952-67; Central Minister, 1957-63 and again 1964-67; member of AICC, 1933; Treasurer, 1960-64

hesitating to criticise you publicly. You cannot afford to have the Bombay committee against you.

I am coming to Bombay on the 13th evening and if I can meet the Ministers some time during my short stay of a couple of days, I would like to have a talk with them. We are passing through a critical period and we must keep all our forces which are amenable together.

More when we meet.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher
Bombay

ENCLOSURE

BOMBAY PROVINCIAL CONGRESS COMMITTEE

Congress House
Vithalbhai Patel Road
Bombay
31 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I received your letter dated the 26th instant yesterday. I am promptly replying to it so that there should be no misunderstanding in your mind.

At the outset, I can categorically state that there is no rift between me and the Ministry. I do not know who gave you that impression or how you got it. If the person or persons who gave you that impression would have done me the kindness of letting me know about it, I would have been the first to remove their misimpression. You know it very well that whatever happens I will never do anything that will bring the Congress into disrepute in the public. Besides, you are always there to help me if there is a genuine difficulty which is beyond my control. It is needless for me to repeat that without previously consulting you and taking your guidance I will not do anything of the type that is alleged against me. I was always avoiding to worry you with small details of our difficulties. You are ever too much occupied to have anything added to your worries. But since some matters have been conveyed to you, I shall try as briefly as I can to give you some idea about what is happening here and elsewhere. Of course there are differences between most of the Congressmen and the Ministry but they are not of a type which can be called 'a rift'. They are of a small nature and surely, with goodwill on either side, they can be resolved locally without giving you the trouble.

It is very unfortunate that the Central Parliamentary Committee is not actively working. If that machinery were active, most of the things which happen in the provinces and against which people have got a legitimate grievance could have been avoided. In the absence of any direction from the Central Parliamentary Committee or the Working Committee, the provincial ministries everywhere are getting more and more autocratic. I am not making this complaint without any foundation. Talking of our own Ministry, I am bound to say that the Ministry expects the PCCs to be mere 'rubber stamps' for endorsing their own decisions which they arrive at without any previous consultation with the PCCs, even in regard to matters of fundamental policy. Even then, it would be wrong on the part of any Congressman, and much more so on the part of a Congress President, to criticise the Ministry in public because, after all, it is the Congress that will suffer by that method.

Now, I shall give you a few illustrations of a glaring type in which the Ministry has proceeded to do things of a serious type without any consultation whatsoever with the PCC.

(1) You remember, in the last riot, I put before the Government a scheme of 'Peace Guards'. I had worked the details of this scheme with a sincere desire to help the Government. The Home Member simply pooh-poohed that scheme to the Press as if it was of no consequence. Two months later, however, he came out with another scheme called 'the Home Guards'. He never consulted either me or anybody else before publicly announcing his scheme. The scheme of Home Guards was so much officialised that it could never merit public confidence, with the result that it has almost failed. Forgetting all that was done, I sincerely went to assist the Government even in the implementation of this scheme but my efforts at this stage were of no avail. I do claim that in matters like this the Ministry would be well advised to consult the PCCs. In any case, nothing would be lost in such consultation.

(2) You know, for the last three or four years, the city of Bombay was having a subsidised milk scheme. The Government were spending over a crore of rupees over this scheme. Several lakhs of children were getting benefit from it. The Corporation was vitally interested in it. One fine morning, we had an announcement made by the Government that the scheme was scrapped. This was the greatest insult to the Corporation because the Minister would have lost nothing if he had previously taken the Corporation, which is also Congress-dominated, into consultation. I had to defend the Ministry much against popular resentment. The Minister in this case was Mr. Dinkarrao Desai. The Government scheme of milk was rushed through and one does not know what will happen to it.

(3) You know how vitally interested the Congress and the Corporation are in the matter of rents of residential premises. Without the slightest consultation with either of these bodies, the Government came forth with a Bill to

give a 10 per cent rise in rents. They knew that I was the president of the BPCC and also the Leader of the Corporation. What would they have lost had they consulted me if such an increase at this time was necessary? The result was that there was a terrific tirade against the Government from all sides and the Government had almost decided to drop that provision of a 10 per cent raise. What I did was I issued an appeal to the Government that although they might be justified in giving the rise, looking to the present circumstances, they should kindly postpone that part of the Bill for some time. I am sending you my statement to find for yourself what criticism I have done of the Government in that. In spite of that the Government had not the goodness of taking me into confidence as regards their plans.

(4) Much is made of the nationalisation of road transport. You know it very well that this scheme is not of the Congress Governments. It was started by the old Governments for purposes which can be well understood. Our Governments have simply taken up the old schemes and put them in different clothing. I am not the only Congressman who does not see eye to eye with Government on this scheme. People like Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya¹, Mr. Diwakar², Dr. Hardikar³ and quite a host of Congressmen do not like the haste with which Government proceed in this matter. Government have consulted no PCCs in this respect also. In a question of policy like the nationalisation of the transport system, have not the Congress institutions any responsibility whatsoever? I am in this for more than two years but I have never publicly criticised the Government. There are many key industries which will require to be nationalised before road transport is taken in hand. We are needlessly antagonising in these difficult days a class of people which has stood by us during our days of trial. But no argument would avail with the Ministry. You know it very well that both Mahatma Gandhi and yourself had advised the Municipal Congress Party not to take up the BEST [Bombay Electric Supply Transport] concern immediately for obvious reasons. We had prepared our case accordingly. We were for effective national control instead of for outright ownership to begin with. But as soon as the deputation saw the Government, we were faced with a fait accompli. In his very first sentence the Home Member told the deputation that if the Corporation did not take the BEST, the Government had decided to take it up themselves. This finished the interview in one minute. The Corporation was left with no

¹ Congress leader of Andhra; joined party in 1916; member, AICC and Congress Working Committee; Congress President, Jaipur session, 1948-50; President, All-India States Peoples' Conference, 1936 and again 1946-48; member, CA, 1946-50; last assignment Governor of MP

² Joined non-co-operation movement in 1921; Secretary and later President of Karnatak PCC; pioneered movement for separate Karnatak State; AICC member for several years; member, CA; Information & Broadcasting Minister, 1948-52; Governor of Bihar, 1952-57; President, Gandhi Peace Foundation

³ Founder of Seva Dal, later Congress member, Rajya Sabha

alternative but to toe the line which the Government had fixed for them. May I ask, do not the PCCs count at all in all these important considerations? Are we placed simply to 'rubber stamp' the decisions of the Government? It will not be honourable for the PCCs nor will it conduce to solidarity in the Congress ranks if such an intolerable position was accepted. And where can we go to in the absence of Central direction? Even then, I have not criticised the Ministry in public. I am sending you a copy of the presidential address which I delivered at the open session of the Motor Transport Congress. I have incurred the displeasure of this Congress by this address. I have never attacked, even by a single word, the Ministry. I have offered my views on nationalisation but from a higher plane. It has nothing to do with our Ministry. If you read the marked portions [in] the address, you will see that I have supported the Government instead of opposing them.

Barring these instances I find none and I am surprised how I can be accused of criticising the Ministry in public. Shri Balasaheb Kher talked to a dozen persons that I was unfriendly to the Ministry but when I see him he has not a word to speak about it. This is rather surprising. We have got occasional conferences of Congress presidents and the Prime Minister but these were hitherto a farce. Nothing was done except having a chat.

But in spite of all these, I can assure you that it will be my plain duty to assist the Ministry in every possible way. Shri Morarjibhai and myself have been pulling on very well indeed. We have no differences. It is very difficult to understand Balasaheb. He talks sweet to me but I hear reports that he talks differently to other people. I faced him the other day at the presidents' conference and told him that I was not consulted when the 10 per cent rise was proposed in rents. He did nothing beyond showing surprise. I would therefore appeal to those friends, through you, to bring the matters to my notice before taking the complaint to you. I did not want that, preoccupied as you are, you should be bothered with our difficulties in the provinces.

I have taken too much of your precious time in giving these details, but I have done so simply with a view to removing any possible misunderstanding if such could be there. If I have done any mistake, you have simply to point it out to me and you know what will be my reaction. I honestly believe that a time has come in our country's politics when we cannot afford to have any differences among friends. Please rest assured that I shall not be doing any such mistake which is alleged against me.

I hope you are keeping good health.

With my respectful pranams,

Yours sincerely,
S. K. Patil

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Bombay
20 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I received your confidential letter dated the 15th instant. In view of what you have written, I am trying to make whatever arrangements we can make regarding the matters mentioned by you. As the time, which you think would be critical, would be from the 2nd to 9th on the announcement by His Majesty's Government, I would very much like to be in Bombay during these days. In view of this, could you put off the date of the meeting of the Provincial Constitution Committee from 5 to 9 or 10 June?

The new Governor was sworn in at 12 noon yesterday. I think he is quite nice and keen.

I hope you are enjoying your well-earned rest. With compliments to Maniben and Shankar,

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Mussoorie (Camp)

Mussoorie
26 May 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

I have received your letter of the 20th instant.

I am glad you are taking steps to meet with the situation. I do not think that this communal problem is going to be solved by any settlement, and it is better to be prepared for all emergencies.

I am returning to Delhi on the 28th. I do not know whether it would be possible to change the dates of the Provincial Constitution Committee, because much will depend upon what is being settled about the dates of the Union Constitution Committee. These two Committees are likely to meet often in joint sessions.

The new Governor is only for a few days, but I am glad you like him.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. G. Kher
Bombay

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Bombay
24 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

On receiving your letter I had the question of equipment of the police in this province examined. One of the points that has arisen in it is about the supply of Sten guns to the police force in Bombay. We had asked for 110 Sten guns with the necessary equipment. The Government of India, however, replied in their Home Department letter dated 6 May 1947 that these guns were not available then and could not, therefore, be supplied.

I also find that we had written to the Secretary, Home Department, of the Government of India, enquiring whether it would be possible to supply 2,000 .410 muskets and also the necessary ammunition. A reply has been received under Government of India, Home Department, letter dated 25 April 1947, that owing to the existing commitments, the Government of India cannot supply these muskets. The necessity of arming a part of the unarmed constabulary for use in an emergency is very keenly felt. If muskets of this particular type are not available, I wonder whether any other similar weapons can be spared or found in some way. We are badly in need of such arms. The requirement of 2,000 which has been communicated is the minimum.

I shall be very thankful if both these questions can be re-examined as I feel that, as a quick solution of our present difficulties, arming the existing police force has great value. I am attending to the other points in your letter.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Camp Mussoorie (UP)

New Delhi
1 June 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

Please refer to your letter of 24 May 1947. I am looking into the two matters and hope to let you hear soon.

2. I have had fairly detailed replies to my letter from some of the other provincial Premiers. I should like to have from you also similar details regarding the points I raised in my letter.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. G. Kher
Bombay

106 Constitution House
New Delhi
8 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I understand from Mr. Shantilal Shah¹ that Mr. S. N. Mane, ex-Parliamentary Secretary and Member of the Constituent Assembly from Bombay, has been appointed a Minister in Kolhapur State. I am making inquiries to see if this is confirmed. But in case it is, he will have to vacate his seat (1) in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and (2) also in the Constituent Assembly. As he will be a Minister in a native State, he cannot, in my opinion, sit in these two bodies.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

¹ One of early members of Congress Socialist Party; participated in all national movements; founder member, INTUC; member of Bombay Legislative Council and its Deputy Chairman; was in charge of Congress election office in 1945-47; member of CA from Bombay; Minister in Bombay Government for over a decade; member, Lok Sabha, 1967-70

10 June 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

I have received your letter of the 8th instant. If Mr. Mane has accepted the appointment in Kolhapur, he has to resign from the Bombay Legislative Assembly as well as from the Constituent Assembly and he should be called upon to do so.

The vacancies that may be caused by the resignation of Dr. [M.R.] Jayakar¹ as well as Mr. Mane should not be filled at present and we must await developments.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. G. Kher
Camp: New Delhi

New Delhi
14 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

With regard to the talk we had this morning about election in the vacancy created by Dr. Jayakar's resignation, I have received a letter from Mr. [S.] Nijalingappa,² president of the Karnatak Provincial Congress Committee, which I enclose for your information.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

¹Entered public life in 1916; leader of Swaraj Party in Bombay Council, 1923-25; entered Central Legislative Assembly as representative of Bombay City in 1926; Deputy leader of Nationalist Party in Assembly 1927-30; delegate to Indian Round Table Conference in London; successively Judge of Federal Court, Privy Council in London and of International Court of Justice, the Hague

²President, Karnatak PCC, 1945-46; member, CA and Parliament, 1947-56; Chief Minister, Mysore State, 1956-57 and 1962-68; Congress President until party split in 1969

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM LETTER DATED 9 JUNE 1947 FROM SHRI S.
NIJALINGAPPA TO SHRI B. G. KHER

I am not sure if I spoke to you when I met you last at Delhi at the time of the Constituent Assembly meeting about filling up the vacancy caused by the resignation of Dr. M. R. Jayakar to the membership of the Constituent Assembly. Whether I have done so or not, I want to bring to your notice that Shri V. K. R. V. Rao¹ is quite fit to be elected in place of Dr. Jayakar. You know him quite well and I remember you were pleased to make very complimentary reference to him during one of our talks. I urge that you may kindly use your good offices in his favour.

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1 July 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

Confirming my conversation with you last night, you have to make arrangements for Dr. Ambedkar's² election, if possible before the 14th. If the date for nomination is the 4th, then there would be no difficulty, but if the nomination date is changed to the 11th, then the only way to finish the work before the 14th is to persuade other candidates to withdraw. Anyway, you will do your best.

About Mane, we will have to try, but he is a hard nut to crack.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri B. G. Kher
Bombay

¹ Vice-Chancellor, Delhi University; President, Indian Economic Association 1949; member, Taxation Enquiry Commission, 1953-55; University Professor and Founder-Director, Delhi School of Economics, University of Delhi, 1942-57; Central Minister, 1967-71

² Started career as Professor of Economics, Bombay; called to Bar, 1923; member, RTC, 1930-32; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council, July 1942-June 1946; member, CA; Law Member in Nehru Cabinet

106 Constitution House
New Delhi
20 July 1947

From
The Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher
To
The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Chairman, Provincial Constitution Committee
Constituent Assembly
New Delhi
Sir,

I beg to report that a meeting of the members of the Constituent Assembly elected from Bombay province was held in Constitution House at 11.0 a.m. on Sunday, 20 July 1947, to consider the question of a second chamber for the province of Bombay. The following [sixteen] members were present:

The Hon'ble B. G. Kher, Mr. B. M. Gupte,¹ Mrs. Hansa J. Mehta,² Mr. H. V. Pataskar,³ Dr. [B. R.] Ambedkar, Dr. J. A. D'Souza,⁴ Mr. K. N. Desai,⁵ Mr. K. K. Desai,⁶ Mr. K. M. Munshi,⁷ Mr. N. V. Gadgil,⁸ Mr. S. Nijalingappa, Mr. Nalavde,

¹ Member, Constituent Assembly of Bombay

² Vice-Chancellor, Baroda University, 1949-58; member, CA; member of delegation of Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference, 1948

³ Member, AICC, 1929; entered Bombay Legislative Council, 1927; resigned in protest against incarceration of Gandhiji, 1930; elected, MLA, Bombay, 1937; member, CA, 1947; Governor of Madhya Pradesh

⁴ Member, CA, Bombay

⁵ Member, CA, Bombay

⁶ Khandubhai Desai: Labour leader of Gujarat and one of organisers of INTUC; trusted lieutenant of Sardar Patel; Union Minister of Labour, 1954-57; at present Governor of Andhra Pradesh

⁷ Started political career as joint editor of Young India, 1915; elected member of Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1927; AICC member, 1930-36; Home Minister (Bombay), 1937-39; member, CA, 1946-50; in between Agent-General, Government of India in Hyderabad, 1947; Central Food Minister; Governor of UP; Founder of Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay

⁸ Secretary and later President of Congress Committee, Poona; MLA (Central), 1934; party whip in Central Legislative Assembly till made minister in Nehru Cabinet in August 1947; Governor of Punjab

Mr. R. R. Diwakar, Mr. Shankarrao Deo, the Hon'ble Mr. I. I. Chundrigar,¹ Mr. A. K. M. Shaikh.

On the motion of Dr. Ambedkar, seconded by Mr. Shankarrao Deo, Mr. Kher was voted to the chair.

The question of having a second chamber for the province of Bombay was fully discussed and it was unanimously resolved that Bombay province should have a second chamber for a period of the first ten years of the new Constitution, and that thereafter it should be open to the province either to continue or to discontinue the second chamber by so amending the Constitution. I may add that it appeared that the sense of the meeting was that the second chamber should be merely a revising chamber with no powers of initiating financial proposals or of veto, and that the present provisions for a joint session should continue.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
B. G. Kher

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Council Hall
Poona
13/14 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Dr. Jivraj Mehta,² having been appointed Director-General of the Medical Services by the Government of India, ceases to be a member of the Bombay Legislative Assembly and his seat from Bombay city has now become vacant and elections will have to be held for filling this vacancy. Similarly, the seat from Broach and Panch Mahals-cum-Surat in the Bombay Legislative Council rendered vacant by the appointment of His Excellency Shri M. M. Pakvasa³ as Governor of the Central Provinces and Berar will have to be filled. The question whether in such cases by-elec-

¹ Lawyer and Muslim League leader from Bombay; Commerce Member, Interim Government, 1946-47

² Congress leader of Baroda; Director-General, Health Services, 1947-48; Minister in Bombay, 1949-60; Chief Minister, Gujarat, 1960-63; Indian High Commissioner in London, 1963-67; member, Lok Sabha

³ President, Bombay Legislative Council from July 1937 to August 1947; Governor of MP and acting Governor of Bombay, 1954-55

tions should be held immediately or be postponed for some time in view of the present circumstances has been engaging our attention for some time past. As it is possible that a similar question may have arisen in other provinces also, I should be grateful if you would kindly let me know what our policy should be in regard to the holding of such by-elections.

Yours sincerely,
B. G. Kher

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
20 October 1947

My dear Balasaheb,

Thank you for your letter of 14 October 1947 regarding vacancies in the Legislative Assembly.

I do not think we can postpone by-elections. It becomes a scandal if vacated seats to the legislature remain unfilled for long. I would therefore suggest that you proceed to the filling up of these seats.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. B. G. Kher
Poona

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New Delhi
4 August 1947

My dear Morarji,

The telegram which we have received from the Governor of Bombay about the flare-up in Bombay and the bomb explosion in the cinema indicates that the incident was communal in character and that the particular film which was exhibited referred to conversions to Islam and had been approved both by the Board of Censors and yourself. I should like to have some more details about it. If the report is correct, I feel it was unwise to

have sanctioned the exhibition of such a film and would suggest the immediate withdrawal of the certificate granted to the film.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Morarji Desai
Bombay

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Bombay
6 August 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I have received your letter of the 4th instant regarding the recent flare-up in Bombay. I don't think that it has anything to do with the exhibition of "Arab-ka-Sitara" at the Taj Talkies, Bombay. I have seen that picture myself and have found that the setting of the picture has a historical background regarding the rise of Islam. Some Jews have undoubtedly been shown to have been converted to Islam but there is nothing to show that these were forcible conversions. In any event the picture contains nothing to which Hindus can legitimately take any objection. The picture, however, has since been banned for one month and the ban will be continued indefinitely in accordance with your advice.

Yours sincerely,
Morarji Desai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
11 August 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Mr. Justice M. G. Chagla¹ has been recommended by the Governor of Bombay for appointment as Chief Justice in succession to Sir Leonard Stone. The recommendation has the support of the Prime Minister and of the present Chief Justice.

I have written to Pandit Nehru to ask whether he agrees to this recommendation, but I understand that it has been decided that in future the functions of the Secretary to the Governor-General (Public) about the appointment of judges will be transferred to the Home Department, so clearly the matter is in any case one on which you should be consulted and I have already told you that I shall make no appointments of judges with reference to 15 August and afterwards without advice.

I should be grateful for your advice on this appointment and perhaps it might be advisable to mention the matter to Pandit Nehru before replying. It is of course important that an announcement should be made before 15 August.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
14 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 11 August 1947 which was received by me yesterday in the afternoon. I understand that

¹ Chief Justice of Bombay High Court, 1947-58; on retirement served as High Commissioner in London and then as Ambassador in Washington; Education Minister in 1963 under Nehru and was Minister for External Affairs for short period in Mrs. Gandhi's Cabinet in 1967; resigned in 1968

Mr. Chagla's appointment would involve the supersession of an ICS judge, Mr. K. G. Sen. In the absence of the papers to show why Mr. Sen is proposed to be superseded, it was difficult for me to give any opinion. On enquiries I learn that both the Chief Justice and the Government of Bombay consider that Mr. Chagla is the better of the two. Personally, I should have preferred to have gone more into details of this question, but within the time available it was not possible and since Jawaharlal had already agreed I communicated to your Assistant Private Secretary my concurrence in the proposal. I notice, however, that a communique had already issued; it appears in today's Times of India, while other papers have already published the news.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma
New Delhi

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New Delhi
14 August 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sending you herewith a copy of the letter which I received from His Excellency the Viceroy about the appointment of a successor to Sir Leonard Stone, the Chief Justice of Bombay, and my reply thereto.

You will notice that the matter concerns the Home Department and I feel that this should have been pointed out to you. Only this morning Shri B. G. Kher telephoned to me that Mr. K. G. Sen, whose supersession is involved, has taken this matter to heart and it was suggested by Kher that Mr. Sen should either be taken into the Federal Court or should be transferred to another High Court. Neither of these alternatives is possible—in fact it would be ridiculous to appoint Mr. Sen to the Federal Court after he has been superseded for the post of provincial Chief Justice. I should have personally preferred to have looked more into the merits of the case, but since you had already agreed to the appointment, I had no alternative but to concur.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

CHAPTER V
CP : MINISTERIAL CRISIS

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New Delhi
9 March 1947

My dear Shuklaji,

I have received your letters of 25 February, one regarding your correspondence with Maulana Sahib¹ and the other regarding a complaint made by the Muslim Leaguers against you, a copy of which was sent to you by Mahatmaji.

Mr. Atal has already come here and taken charge. He wanted to come here and Maulana Sahib was probably approached.

Regarding the complaint against you by some Muslim Leaguers, I see that you have made an unanswerable case.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Nagpur

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27 April 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 19th instant which has been signed by several others with you. I regret I cannot lend my support to anyone who wants to gain his objective, however good it may be, by threat of fast. Many Congressmen have in the past given such threats and the weapon of fast has now more or less been generally regarded as of no efficacy and not taken seriously by anybody. It is not given to all to resort to fast. There is a general public feeling that it is used as a weapon of

¹ Maulana Abul Kalam Azad: Leading Muslim divine; staunch nationalist from Khilafat days; Congress President, 1939-46; member, CA; Education Minister in Nehru Cabinet

blackmailing, and, therefore, I regret I cannot associate myself with any effort or movement accompanied with fast.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Maneklal Ghaturvedi
Secretary, Town Congress Committee
Raipur (CP)

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New Delhi
3 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Hon'ble Mr. Patil will explain to you about the appointment of Chief Justice of Nagpur. I am sure you will see that a civilian judge is not appointed as Chief Justice. The Governor is likely to recommend Mr. Pollock, who is an ICS judge. Mr. Vivian Bose is a barrister judge and is also seniormost, but he is at present on leave, but can be recalled if appointed Chief Justice.

Mr. Sheorey is Advocate-General and is an advocate of the Nagpur High Court, though not a barrister. He is quite good, but I am afraid it may not be possible to get him appointed as Chief Justice. The best course would be to press the claims of Mr. Vivian Bose and recall him from leave. He made a mark in giving independent judgments in 1942. Hon'ble Mr. Patil will tell you all about him.

I hope you and Pandit Nehru will do your best to see that an ICS is not appointed Chief Justice of the High Court.

I am sorry I did not get this information earlier. I am leaving tonight, and entrusting this to Hon'ble Mr. Patil.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
7 May 1947

My dear Shuklaji,

I got your letter of 3 May 1947 regarding the appointment of Chief Justice of the Nagpur High Court. We shall do our best.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
New Delhi

Nagpur
20 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

You must have seen in the papers that an ICS judge has been made Chief Justice of the Nagpur High Court, about which I had written to you. This appointment was made without consultation with the Ministry. We intend to lodge an emphatic protest against this appointment. Perhaps nowhere in India has a civilian been appointed Chief Justice. In the Allahabad High Court, one or two ICS judges were passed over and a lawyer-judge was appointed Chief Justice.

I understand that Justice Mulla of the Allahabad High Court is likely to retire soon and there will be a vacancy. I am sure you will have a hand in making this appointment, and therefore I bring to your notice the name of a friend of mine, Mr. Shyambiharilal Gour, Advocate of the Allahabad High Court. He is sufficiently senior to be eligible for a judgeship and has, I understand, a lucrative practice. He is a man of charming manners and independent views and is nationalist in his outlook. Though he did not take an active part in politics, he is helping the nationalist movements with money, and I understand, in 1942 he was particularly helpful. If there is a

chance and you feel you can recommend him, I may assure you he would justify your selection.

I have received your letter of the 15th instant and have been thinking on the same lines. I shall inform you what action we take or propose to take in the matter.

Pandit Mishra¹ has also sent you a copy of the report of the [Chief] Commissioner of Berar regarding [Sir] Mirza Ismail's² visit. I have seen your reply to Pandit Mishra's letter. After we have taken the necessary steps, I shall write to you, or if it is found necessary, either I or Pandit Mishra will see you personally.

If I were a member of one of the two committees nominated by the President of the Constituent Assembly, I might have got an early opportunity of meeting you. Syt. Jairamdas Doulatram told me I was on one of the committees, but I do not find my name in the announcement made by the President. I do not write this as a complaint; there must be weighty reasons for omitting my name.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Shri Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Mussoorie
26 May 1947

My dear Shuklaji,

I have your letter of the 20th instant.

About the appointment of a civilian Chief Justice in the Nagpur High Court, I knew about it only from your letter. I have come here for a week's rest and will be returning to Delhi on the 28th.

¹ D. P. Mishra: Joined Congress movement in early twenties; MLA (Central); Opposition Whip under Motilal Nehru; Home Minister, CP, 1937-39; member, CWC, 1950; VC of Saugor University, 1956-61; Chief Minister, 1963-67; member, Central Parliamentary Board, Congress Working Committee and Treasurer, ruling Congress

² Private Secretary to Maharaja of Mysore, 1922; Dewan of Mysore, 1926-41; Prime Minister of Jaipur, June 1942 to July 1946; Prime Minister of Hyderabad, August 1946 to May 1947

About the retirement of Justice Mulla of the Allahabad High Court also, I learnt only from your letter. When I return to Delhi on the 28th I will be able to find out what is possible in this matter.

I got Pandit Mishra's letter along with a copy of the report of the Chief Commissioner of Berar regarding Sir Mirza Ismail's visit. There are conflicting rumours about Sir Mirza having resigned from the Nizam's service. Anyway, Berar is now trying to organise on the basis of independence. It seems it is afraid of being mixed up with the Maharashtra agitation.

I do not know about your being omitted from the committees.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla

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Nagpur
12 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I spoke to you while in Delhi that I want arms and ammunition for the Home Guards which I am creating shortly in my province. I am enclosing herewith for your information a copy of a letter which I have written to Sardar Baldev Singh. I hope you will strongly support my claim for these arms under the extraordinary circumstances of my province. I shall submit my formal application on receipt of your reply.

The arms which I require at present are the following:

- (1) Rifles for drill purposes with bayonets and frogs, at least 5,000.
- (2) Service rifles, at least 1,000 (i.e. 20 per cent of the whole number).

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Shri Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Nagpur
11 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Allow me to apologise to you for not being able to see you during my short stay at Delhi this time though I made an appointment with you which had to be cancelled on account of some unavoidable circumstances.

There is one matter of vital importance to the province and the country for which your prompt assistance is very necessary. You perhaps know that the Central Provinces legislature has passed an act for the creation of a force known as Home Guards, and we want to have this force well trained and armed to meet all cases of emergency. It is, therefore, essential that we should be provided with arms and ammunition as required for these Home Guards. I am approaching you through the Home Department (Shri Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel). This is a proposal in advance, so that there may be no delay when my formal request reaches you. In case there is any hitch or trouble, you will kindly inform me what steps should be taken to avoid such a hitch or trouble. If you wish that I should adopt any other procedure than approach through the Home Department, kindly suggest it to me and oblige. I shall await your reply before making my formal application.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Member for Defence
Government of India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
14 May 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

I understand the Prime Minister of the CP, the Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla, has written to you on the 11th instant whether there is any difficulty to provide his Government with arms and ammunition required for the purpose of raising Home

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S.C.-V-11

Guards, which for all practical purposes will be an additional or special police force. Their requirements are:

1. Rifles for drill purposes with bayonets and frogs, at least 5,000.
2. Service rifles, at least 1,000 (i.e., 20% of the whole number).

In the present disturbed conditions in all the provinces owing to communal tension they are naturally in need of having such additional armed police force, and it is our duty to give them all possible assistance. It would also obviate the necessity of demanding military assistance. May I know whether you will have any difficulty in meeting their requirements?

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh
Member of Cabinet
Defence Department
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
3 June 1947

Hon'ble Pandit Shukla
Prime Minister
Nagpur

REFERENCE SHANKAR'S LETTERS AND TELEGRAM REGARDING ADDITIONAL STAFF FOR SPECIAL POLICE ESTABLISHMENT. REQUIREMENTS MOST URGENT. WOULD BE GLAD IF IMMEDIATE STEPS COULD BE TAKEN TO NOMINATE OFFICERS AND THEIR PARTICULARS SENT TO US.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
27 September 1947

Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Prime Minister
Central Provinces
Nagpur

OUR POSITION REGARDING POLICE CONTINUES TO BE DIFFICULT. PACE OF RECRUITMENT VERY SLOW OWING DISTURBANCES WHEREAS NEED OF REINFORCEMENT IMMEDIATE. WOULD BE GLAD IF YOU COULD KINDLY SEND FURTHER TWO COMPANIES. WE WILL REQUIRE FOR NOT MORE THAN ONE MONTH. PLEASE WIRE REPLY.

VALLABHBHAI

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Nagpur
19 June 1947

Revered Sardar Sahib,

I enclose with this copies of two letters for your information.

2. You will recall that I had mentioned the matter of a broadcasting station in Nagpur to you when we met recently in Delhi and you were good enough to say that you would do your best to remove our difficulties in this respect. If the Defence Department agrees to transfer the transmitters we have asked for, there will be some legal difficulties in operating the station; but I believe the Information and Broadcasting Department can advise the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, who is the competent authority, to permit us to work a station as a temporary [emergency] measure. I am advised that the legal position is that the Government of India can permit the operation of non-commercial stations for some definite object "of scientific value, research, experiment or instruction" with the concurrence of the Government of the province.

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3. In view of the great necessity for us to contact the rural areas in this province instantly and frequently in the present critical communal and political period, I hope you will be able to help us in this matter early.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
D. P. Mishra

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

Nagpur
19 June 1947

Dear Mr. Bhalja,

I enclose with this a copy of a letter sent to you officially for the loan of two transmitters at present lying idle in Nagpur. We have been feeling the need of a transmitting station in Nagpur increasingly urgently due to the changing political and communal situation. The lack of such a station has made us powerless to approach the rural areas as quickly as we desired. You know the condition of communications in the province and I need not emphasize the great assistance which the transmitting station would give to us during the next year or two. I hope you will do your best to see that these transmitters are placed at our disposal at the earliest possible moment.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
D. P. Mishra

G. S. Bhalja, Esq., CIE, ICS
Additional Secretary to the Government of India
Defence Department
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE II

From

P. S. Rau, Esq., CIE, ICS

Chief Secretary to Government

Central Provinces and Berar

To

The Secretary to the Government of India

Defence Department

New Delhi

Nagpur

20 June 1947

Sir,

I am directed to say that there has been in this province an insistent public demand for the establishment of a broadcasting station. The provincial Government has had considerable sympathy with this demand, which it considers to be reasonable, but it has so far refrained from moving the Government of India as it is aware of the difficulty in obtaining the necessary transmitters for the establishment of such a station. The provincial Government understands that eight powerful wireless transmitters are available in the IAF transmitting station at Nagpur, which are no longer required by the Defence Department and which that department proposes to transfer to the Civil Aviation Directorate for safe custody. It further understands that these transmitters can be utilised for establishing a temporary broadcasting station in the province. As these transmitters will not be used by the Government of India, the provincial Government feels that some of them could be utilised as an [emergency] measure for the immediate establishment of a temporary broadcasting station to enable the provincial Government to contact the rural population, a step which is very necessary in the present critical political and communal situation in the country. It is, therefore, proposed to approach the Government of India in the Information and Broadcasting Department for the necessary permission to establish such a temporary station to be in operation till a regular broadcasting station is set up in the province. I am, therefore, to request that two of the transmitters in the IAF transmitting station at Nagpur may be placed at the disposal of the provincial Government for the establishment of such a temporary broadcasting station.

2. As a part of the scheme, the provincial Government proposes to distribute receiving sets widely in rural areas. I am to enquire whether battery receiving sets are available for bulk purchase with the Disposals Directorate.

3. I am to request for a very early reply to this letter.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
P. S. Rau

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New Delhi
22 June 1947

My dear Mishraji,

Thank you for your letter of 19 June 1947. I would advise you to take up the question of transmitters and broadcasting station in Nagpur after some time. If you raise it now, it is possible that the news regarding the presence of surplus transmitters might spread and others may lay their claims to them.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Dwarka Prasad Mishra
Minister of Development
CP & Berar
Nagpur

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Nagpur
19 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 17 June, enclosing a cutting of a leading article in the Bombay Chronicle of 9 June. In a subsequent issue of the same paper, dated 18 June, the editor has the fairness to correct the mistake he had made. He says:

"A Nagpur paper's report of Pandit Shukla's recent speech, extracts from which were read out at Gandhiji's prayer meeting on Monday evening, shows that the news agency's summary of it did not do justice to the CP Premier, Pandit Shukla. Discussing the consequences of Mr. Jinnah's two-nation theory carried to its logical absurdity, it was an exposure of the dangers to Muslims themselves of the theory rather

than any suggestion by the CP Premier for a positive Congress policy. . . .

You will thus see that the article, a cutting of which you have kindly sent to me, is based on a distorted version of my speech. On return here, I found the news of Dr. Hasan's¹ resignation flashed in the papers. I am sending herewith a letter addressed to the President, All-India Congress Parliamentary Board, which contains all I have to say in the matter. I have addressed a similar letter to the President, Indian National Congress.

2. As settled, I have written to the Raja Bahadur of Khairagarh to ask the Bastar Chief to enter his protests against the granting of leases etc. to the Nizam's State and also against the action of the Administrator of the State [in] not arranging for the election of delegates to the electoral college which is to elect representatives to the Constituent Assembly. I am now writing to him as suggested, and, if possible, he should accompany the Bastar Raja when he goes to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

I have replied to Bapu's letter and also sent him a copy of the letter regarding Dr. Hasan's resignation.

23 June 1947

My dear Ravishankar,

I have received your letter of the 19th instant and its accompaniments. I dislike the whole episode and I wish you had talked to me when you met me in Delhi. It is unfortunate that Dr. Hasan should have been allowed to get an opportunity of creating such propaganda in the Press. However, you have addressed this letter to the President of the All-India Congress Parliamentary Board and the matter will have to be disposed of by the Board. In the meanwhile you must keep me informed

¹ Dr. S. M. Hasan: Health Minister in Shukla Ministry in 1947

if there is any further propaganda in the Press. The matter has become more delicate because of Gandhiji's intervention in the matter prematurely and in the absence of full facts.

I am enclosing a copy of the letter which I have written to Dr. Hasan today.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Nagpur

ENCLOSURE

23 June 1947

Dear Dr. Hasan,

I understand that unseemly reports about your resignation and its subsequent controversy sequel appeared in the Press at your instance. You must be aware that if you have any complaint to make against the Prime Minister or any of your colleagues, you have got the Parliamentary Board which you must approach for redress; but to go to the Press or the public in such matters which may affect your relations with your colleagues, particularly with your Prime Minister, is contrary to the rules of propriety and it would be highly improper for a Minister to do so. In the first instance, if you have any grievance against the Prime Minister, you are expected to approach him. You have also to place your case before your colleagues in the Cabinet. In the event of your failing to straighten out your differences you have to approach the Parliamentary Board. But no Prime Minister can tolerate his own Minister going to the Press against him. If you find that you have lost the confidence of your Prime Minister or your colleagues, the proper course for you is to send your resignation to the Parliamentary Board. Up to now you have not even informed the Parliamentary Board as to what has happened which has led to this controversy. I should like to know what you have to say in this matter.

2. You know that you were selected as a Congress candidate in a constituency of joint electorate with very great preponderance of Hindu votes, in order to show to all that the Congress is not a communal body. But for the Congress ticket, no Mussalman would have a chance [of] getting that seat. I cannot for a moment believe that a responsible leader like your Prime Minister would have seriously meant what he is alleged to have said in his speech about you in your presence, and I do not think that you took it seriously unless I would believe that you are devoid of all sense of humour. But as you have already referred this matter to Gandhiji, I do not wish to say anything

more about it. I am only concerned with your conduct as a Minister in this episode and I wish to know what you have to say about it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. S. M. Hasan
Minister, CP & Berar
Nagpur

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6 July 1947

Dear Dr. Hasan,

I have received your letter of 27 June. I am unable to understand how your personal views or your personal grievance against the Prime Minister in this connection find place in the Press. If you are not directly responsible for giving this publicity through the Press, you must have certainly talked about it loosely to your friends and thus indirectly helped this publicity. There is no other way by which such a thing could happen. Surely you must straighten your matters with your Prime Minister.

2. In any case it is up to you to restore his confidence in you; otherwise it would be impossible to work with a sense of joint responsibility which is so essential in the working of a Ministry.

3. I have no objection to your referring the matter to Gandhiji, but what I object to is the publicity that you have given, directly or indirectly, about your supposed grievance against your Prime Minister. Apart from that my real objection is to your having lost the confidence of your Prime Minister, and it is quite essential that you should take steps immediately to regain it. It is not a matter of much consequence as to who is at fault. The fact remains that you have lost his confidence and such a state of things cannot be allowed to continue. I am informing your Prime Minister about it as he had referred the matter to me.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. S. M. Hasan
Nagpur

Nagpur
13 July 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I am very much obliged to you for your kind letter of 6 July. I regret that I could not reply to it earlier as I was ill and also because I wanted to talk over the matter with the Hon'ble the Prime Minister.

I herewith enclose a copy of my letter dated 30 June to Shri Acharya Kripalaniji in which I have stated my point of view in full. In short I may point out that I had no hand in the Press propaganda because I was out on tour in the interior from the early morning of the 6th to the night of 10 June. On 11 June I saw Hon'ble the Premier when I expected him to make some reference to his speech in question and the Press propaganda that was going on in my absence on tour. As no reference whatsoever was made by him in this my first interview after the delivery of the speech in question I felt very much disappointed. After thinking over the matter for three days and finding no way out of uneasiness of my mind I wrote to revered Mahatmaji only with a view to seek advice for a way out of my uneasiness of mind. The letter that I wrote to him was not at all in the nature of a complaint seeking any redress of my grievances against anybody. As my relations with revered Mahatmaji are like that of father and son I thought I was entitled to seek such advice from him. I, therefore, wrote to him on the 14th, copy of which is herewith enclosed.

My letter reached him on 16 June in the morning and he made a reference to the Hon'ble the Premier's speech that very evening in [his] post-prayer speech. It is after this post-prayer speech that the newspapers raised all sorts of canard including that of my resignation. The report of my alleged resignation appeared in the newspapers on the morning of 17 June and immediately that very morning I authorized the Chief Secretary to contradict the canard as absolutely false. The newspapers had also inferred that I must have written to Mahatmaji and they even went to the length of imagining that that letter must have contained my resignation. It is after this wild and reckless Press propaganda that I did tell some

of my close friends who had come to see me in this connection, that I had written a personal letter to Mahatmaji and that I had received a reply in Urdu. I neither disclosed the contents of my letter to Mahatmaji, nor did I disclose the contents of his reply. I had given an interview on 19 June to only one correspondent, viz. of the Hindustan Herald, which I have mentioned in my letter dated 30 June to Shri Kripalaniji. The interview is of four lines and cannot be regarded as Press propaganda. In fact, it was meant to stop any further Press propaganda.

I, therefore, submit that I had done no Press propaganda in this connection.

I am glad to know that you and Shri Kripalaniji do not find fault with my action in writing to revered Mahatmaji but unfortunately my chief makes it a major point of grievance against me.

In accordance with the advice given to me by you and Shri Kripalaniji I did open talk with the chief yesterday with a view to straighten the matter with him, but he asked me to give in writing whatever I had to say in the matter, which I have this morning done. I herewith enclose a copy of my letter to him and also a copy of his reply. My chief left for Delhi this afternoon. I shall be obliged if I am allowed to talk over the matter with him in your and Shri Kripalaniji's presence.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Hasan

The Hon'ble Shri Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

Nagpur
14 June 1947

Revered Bapu,

I am herewith sending a cutting from the Hitavada of Nagpur containing the indiscreet speech of my Premier flung in my very face as I was present next to him in the meeting. The reporting in the Hitavada is quite correct and faithful except that it was in a serious strain and not in a lighter vein. It has its own repercussions not only in this province but the whole of India, and every Hindu friend of mine, who knows me from my boyhood, is vehemently resenting it.

It has pained me terribly as I feel it has made my position very awkward as of any other nationalist Muslim who has been in the Congress fold long before 1921.

I leave it to you to realise my position without any further comment from me.

With respects,

Ever yours,
Hasan

Mahatma Gandhi

ENCLOSURE II

Nagpur
13 July 1947
11 a.m.

Dear Dr. Hasan,

Many thanks for your letter which I received only an hour ago.

Your letter to Mahatmaji may have been a 'personal' one, but it was about a public matter in which I was concerned as your Chief. I can therefore look upon it only as a complaint made against me behind my back. My reference to you personally was made humorously. The newspapers regarded it as such. Both Mahatma Gandhi and Sardar Patel also regarded it similarly. But in your letter to Mahatmaji you have persisted in saying that it was made by me in all seriousness.

As regards my second allegation regarding your having given publicity to your unjust complaint against me you have admitted in your letter to Shri Rashtrapati that you had given once an interview to Hindustan Herald. Although you have neither confirmed nor denied the interview which the correspondent of the Times of India asserts to have got from you, you further admit that you spoke about the affair to some friends. All this is highly objectionable and you will agree with me that my confidence in you cannot be restored by your mere desire that I should close the chapter finally. I do not see any sign of repentance in your letter and I would be lacking in sincerity if I say that your letter is satisfactory. If you feel that you have acted wrongly you should offer an unqualified apology. This is the least that will satisfy me. I have made my position clear in my letter to the Parliamentary Board, a copy of which you have already received.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

Dr. Hasan

ENCLOSURE III

Raipur
4 August 1947

My dear Panditji,

I am very sorry I could not reply to your letter dated 13 July as you were out.

I assure you with all sincerity that it was never my intention to hurt your feelings in any way, but as it seems that it has pained you I offer you my unqualified apology and request you to kindly accept it and bury the past. I have no doubt that henceforth our relations will be as cordial as ever before.

Please accept my sincere and heart-felt congratulations on the occasion of your 71st birthday.

Wishing you a long and happy life and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Hasan

Pandit Ravishankar Shukla

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New Delhi
4 August 1947

Dear Dr. Hasan,

I had received your letter of 13 July along with its enclosures. As your Prime Minister was here engaged in the Constituent Assembly, I had not written to you earlier, but now that he has returned, I take the earliest opportunity of writing to you.

I understand Gandhiji has already written to you, and I can only say that unless you are able to regain the lost confidence, you cannot continue in the Ministry. The Ministry can function only if the Ministers enjoy the confidence of the Prime Minister. They have to work in joint responsibility, and therefore it is absolutely essential that they must have his confidence. It is up to you, therefore, to fulfil this condition if you want to continue in the Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. S. M. Hasan
Nagpur

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Nagpur

8 August 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 4th instant.

I am herewith enclosing copy of my letter dated 4 August, containing my unqualified apology and handed over by me personally to Pandit Shuklaji at Raipur that very morning. I am also sending herewith copies of Panditji's letter dated 7 August and my reply thereto of the same date.

You will see from the copies of letters attached that I have given the unqualified apology which Panditji asked me to tender to restore his confidence in me in his letter dated 13 July, a copy of which is also attached herewith. Do you still feel that this is not enough?

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Hasan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE I

Nagpur

7 August 1947

Dear Dr. Hasan,

I understand that you have received a letter from Mahatma Gandhi which was delivered to you by Hon'ble Mr. Agnibhoj on the 2nd instant. Will you kindly send me a copy of it and oblige?

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Dr. S. M. Hasan
Nagpur

ENCLOSURE II

Nagpur
7 August 1947

My dear Panditji,

I have received your letter of today's date. You will readily appreciate that ordinarily I would have hesitated before complying with such a request as you have made, as the letter is a personal one and coming from revered Bapu is for me of a sacrosanct character. The letter itself will bear out what personal relationship I have been fortunate enough to cultivate with revered Bapu. But as I do not want such hesitation as I have to aggravate misunderstandings that have unfortunately arisen or to let you feel that I am deliberately withholding some information from you, I am enclosing a copy of it.

It appears from revered Bapu's letter that you informed him of your loss of confidence in me and dear Bapu's letter has been written under the impression that this loss of confidence still persists. Allow me to say in all humility that I have never been able to understand why and how the present incident in itself should have induced this loss of confidence on your part. My action was unconstitutional and even incorrect, and I can understand that it has annoyed you and given you offence, but I am sure you will agree that confidence in a colleague should not be of such brittle stuff as to be shattered by a single false step or a single mistake. Therefore I sincerely trust that my tendering the unqualified apology demanded by you will serve to restore such confidence as I may have lost due to this incident and I hereby repeat the request that it may be accepted. I have every hope that the memory of this incident will not be allowed in the way of our future relationship of confidence and cordiality.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Hasan

Pandit Ravishankar Shukla

Nagpur
25 September 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I believe by now you are in receipt of my telegram dated the 17th instant, the contents of which are as follows:

"BHAVITAVYA NAGPUR INDEPENDENT NAGPUR JAIHIND JUBBULPORE ALL MINISTERIAL ORGANS LAST NAMED OWNED BY GOVINDDAS MAKING MALICIOUS PROPAGANDA AGAINST ME FOR THREE WEEKS NOW. MINISTRY ALSO MAKING ALL SORTS PROPAGANDA AND SPREADING CANARDS AGAINST ME. REQUEST PERMISSION PUBLICATION CORRESPONDENCE LEADING UPTO MY RESIGNATION. MATTER BECOME VERY URGENT AND HENCE SOLICIT PERMISSION. DOCTOR HASAN."

Being disgusted with the malicious propaganda carried on against me for the last one month by the editors of Bhavitavya and Independent, both weekly papers of Nagpur, and being intimate friends of Pandit D. P. Mishra, Minister for Information, I was impelled to send the above telegram to revered Bapu, Shri Kripalaniji and yourself requesting permission for the publication of correspondence leading up to my enforced resignation only to clear misunderstanding and canards spread against me, particularly by the friends of Pandit Shukla and Mishra. Ordinarily, I would not have liked to bother you at this critical situation in the country, when you are all so engrossed in securing peace in the country, but as the question of my honour is involved, I had to do it reluctantly. I hope you will kindly excuse me.

I am naturally expecting a reply to my above telegram.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Hasan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
5 October 1947

Dear Friend,

I have your letter of 25 September, which was received only yesterday owing to dislocation of post and telegraph communications in Delhi on account of the recent communal disturbances. Unfortunately, your telegram of the 17th referred to in your letter has not yet been delivered for the same reason.

I do not know what correspondence you refer to in your telegram and what advantage could be gained by the publication of any such correspondence which you have in mind. I do not think it has anything to do with your resignation. All I know is that, as you had lost the confidence of your chief and as you sought Gandhiji's advice in the matter, you submitted your resignation in accordance with his advice. The chapter stands closed with the acceptance of your resignation by the Prime Minister. Other matters which have anything to do with the resignation may be those of speculation and Press propaganda by interested persons, of which no notice should be taken. Public men have got to be thick-skinned and it would be unwise to take notice of such criticisms or propaganda which are not authorised. I do not think that the publication of any correspondence will assist you in any manner, but on the contrary will give a fillip to the propaganda that may have been going on in the Press. The best thing is to take no notice of it and it will die down. If, in spite of my advice, you think it necessary to publish any correspondence, personally I would have no objection to your doing so.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. S. M. Hasan
Nagpur

Nagpur

14 August 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am writing this letter to you with a view to acquaint you with my feelings as they are likely to lead us to a step with which you will be concerned as the person responsible for bringing me in the CP Cabinet. These feelings have not grown suddenly—they have been growing for some time. I say this so that you may not connect them with the Hasan episode. It is a coincidence that this incident occurred just at a time when my own feelings also indicate that it is time I resigned from the Cabinet and I am writing this to obtain your consent to the course which I propose to take.

2. I am feeling that I am ineffectual in the Cabinet except in so far as my own department is concerned, and I find it impossible to continue with this feeling involving as it does a loss of personality and a sense of crestfallenness, due to ineffective opposition. And I am not made of the stuff which would always like things being achieved every time at the bayonet of resignation.

3. Unless therefore any particular purpose is likely to be served by my continuance, of which I am not aware, I would request you to let me have a standing permission to resign when I feel like it. I suppose this was implicit in our talks in Bombay, but I would like to make it clear.

It may be that I am mistaken, but I do not think things are likely to change with a new Governor. Cabinet responsibility will remain what it is and the conditions which I have referred to cannot materially alter.

I regret I have to [encroach] on your very valuable time with this personal letter but I felt it wrong to take any step without acquainting you previously with it.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
R. K. Patil¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

¹ Minister, Planning and Development, Madhya Pradesh; Secretary, Kasturba and Gandhi Memorial Funds for Marathi districts of MP; Minister for Food and Agriculture, MP; Food Commissioner, Government of India; Member, National Planning Commission

18 August 1947

My dear Patil,

Your letter has disturbed me as I was all along under the impression that your Ministry was functioning as a team. You had given me no indication up to now about the feeling that was growing in your mind for some time past.

2. I do not know whether you have anything to say about Dr. Hasan's incident, nor do I know whether you have anything to say in his defence.

3. As a member of the Cabinet, it is your duty to speak to your Prime Minister first about your feelings and to try as far as possible to avoid what may be called a rupture. After all, a disruption of a Ministry tends to discredit not only the Ministry, but also the great organisation to which we all have the honour to belong.

4. It is difficult for me to give you a blank cheque to resign at any moment. Before I can do so, I must take your Prime Minister into confidence and, therefore, it would be better if you let him know what your difficulties are and whether it is not possible to restore confidence and atmosphere for harmonious working.

5. In the new Governor you will find a very good friend and he will be of immense help to you all in removing misunderstandings and creating a good atmosphere for the discharge of joint responsibility which is so essential for a successful working [of the] Ministry. I am not disclosing this letter to anybody as you have written to me this letter which is personal, but I would suggest to you to break the ice softly with your Prime Minister. Perhaps you may as well take the assistance of your Governor. I hope no occasion for your resignation will arise.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. R. K. Patil
Minister, CP & Berar
Nagpur

Camp Government House
Jubbulpore
28 December 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have been anxiously waiting for a long time to get the formal approval for the action to be taken by me about Mr. B. A. Deshmukh, Minister (from Berar). I enclose copy of a letter which I have written to Rajendra Babu about this matter. I shall be thankful if you kindly expedite this matter now, so that we may carry out our plans as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Camp Government House
Jubbulpore
28 December 1947

My dear Rajendra Babu,

I am sure you have assumed charge of the office of Congress President and are now functioning also as member or perhaps as president of the Parliamentary Board. I shall be thankful if you would kindly reply formally to my letter regarding Mr. B. A. Deshmukh, Minister, which is pending with you. You had told me when I saw you in Delhi that I could take the necessary action of asking for his resignation. But I thought it was proper that I should wait for your formal sanction before I took that step. You also told me that you would send me your formal approval to my proposal after you assumed office. Perhaps you have been too busy these days, and it has escaped your notice. I shall be thankful if you kindly send me your reply as early as possible. You know the circumstances under which this has to be done by me.

We have to consolidate the position of the Ministry and carry on work effectively.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
President, All-India Congress Committee
New Delhi

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Raja Gokuldas Palace
Jubbulpore
8 July 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I think that you must be remembering that I had a talk about the affairs of my family temple with you at New Delhi some days back. The matter was going on for some days and recently the Board of Trustees of this temple have passed a resolution a copy of which is herewith enclosed for your information. On this resolution, I have resigned my membership of the Board of Trustees.

I know that you are very much preoccupied with most momentous matters and that no intrusion on your time at this hour would be proper. Nevertheless, as I feel that you should be in the know of the whole situation I dare send you these papers.

Trusting that you are in the best of health and with best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Govind Das¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

¹ Oldest parliamentarian; became MLA in 1923; AICC member since 1920; prolific Hindi writer

ENCLOSURE
EXTRACTS FROM RESOLUTION

"The committee are strictly of opinion that the temple is a private one. Opinions of several lawyers including that of Mr. T. L. Sheorey, Advocate-General, Government of CP & Berar, concur on this point. The committee, therefore, sincerely feel that it is a matter of their sole discretion to conduct the affairs of the temple in the manner thought best by them and any outside interference is tantamount to unworthy and illegal interference in the affairs of a private individual acting within the framework of the common law of the land. It has never been the policy of the Indian National Congress, which today is the great and beloved organisation of the people of this country, to interfere with the private affairs of an individual. It is really unworthy of a great organisation. The committee are sure that the worthy members of the Town Congress Committee do not desire to break this glorious tradition of the Indian National Congress and that their action would always be confined to questions relating to public bodies.

"We are also informed that legislation regarding Harijan entry in temples is going to be introduced in the next August session of the CP & Berar Legislative Assembly which is controlled by the Congress. This legislation would naturally contain clear provisions regarding private and public temples. It is, therefore, prudent to postpone this matter till this legislation takes its final shape. When the Government of the province is run by popular will, it is best and worthy of an independent people to take such actions by passing proper legislation. Agitational measures have now become out of date in view of the political advance made by us. We feel that inviting a crisis in this matter by inordinate haste would be wholly improper especially when there are hardly a few days for the legislation to be introduced in the provincial legislature."

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New Delhi
15 July 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 8 July 1947. You have done well in resigning from the Board of Trustees. Those who are opposed to the entry of Harijans in temples do not seem to realise the force of public opinion as well as the elementary rights of

human beings. You have done well in parting company with them.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Seth Govind Das
MLA (Central)
Raja Gokuldas Palace
Jubbulpore

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Nagpur
8 September 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am in receipt of your letter dated 29 August 1947. You are perhaps not aware that so far as this province is concerned, we never had separate electorates for district councils, municipalities, notified area committees, sanitation panchayats, and village panchayats. In our province, we have gone much ahead of the provisions which are now being made in the new Constitution. The franchise is general, and there is no provision in any of our enactments relating to local bodies for reservation of seats even on a population basis. In municipalities, we had adopted a device of creating special wards for Muslim and Harijan representation: as far as possible, certain wards were formed in such a way that Muslims and Harijans got an absolute majority of voters of their communities. But under the changed circumstances the Hon'ble Minister for Local Self-Government has directed in a case that we should stop this policy of creating pockets of Pakistan in every town and village. We have passed a Gram Panchayat Act, by which gram panchayats and nyaya panchayats are being formed in thousands of villages in our province. We are nominating panchas for the first three years. After three years, there would be elections; till then, it is hoped our experience will teach us what has to be done. I am, therefore, glad to say that no action seems necessary in this province as suggested by you in your letter, as we are already far in advance of the proposals which are being made for other provinces.

Yours sincerely,
R. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Nagpur
27 September 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have told you on the phone and also written to you about Col. Bate, Commandant of the Central Ordnance Depot, Jubbulpore. I am enclosing herewith a note which I have received from the Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division, for your information. I have always strongly thought about the removal of Bate and all Muslims whom he has kept in key posts.

Our CID officer, who is making an enquiry in the Jubbulpore arms find case, requires the services of one able CID officer from Bombay, Madras, United Provinces and West Bengal. I shall not be surprised if the result of the enquiry which is proceeding will lead to a widespread conspiracy of the Britishers through 136 Pic Force. I have already informed you that this Pic Force had possession of unlimited arms and ammunition and was spread throughout the length and breadth of India. It was connected with Britishers and was paid for by the British exchequer during [the old] days; how it has survived after the war and is carrying on systematic distribution of arms is a matter which must be thoroughly enquired into. I find that one Mr. Ozanne, who was DIG, Eastern Range, at Nagpur, and was removed by me on the 7th of August—a week before Independence Day—had arranged to stay here for 3 months. But the discovery of unlicensed arms and ammunition in possession of Jones at Jubbulpore seems to have either unnerved him or frustrated his plans. He has, therefore, suddenly given up the idea of remaining here and is arranging for a passage for going home on the 30th of this month. I am making enquiries about him; but now it is difficult to get any arms or ammunition from him. But I shall see what I can get.

Yours sincerely,
R. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

In view of the recent happening in our country and of the situation at Jubbulpore, I venture to place before you certain matters for favour of consideration and action.

2. Most of the British officers in the Indian Army are pro-Muslim and are creating as much trouble as they can before they quit India next year. It is, therefore, essential that they should be sent away as soon as possible by giving them three months' notice or pay in lieu of the notice. Col. Bate, Commandant of the COD, Jubbulpore, must be removed immediately. He has taken no action so far to prevent smuggling of arms and ammunition from the COD and has continued Muslims in key posts. All the high civil officers in Jubbulpore have no confidence in him and things will not improve until he is removed.
3. The danger from the Nizam to our province, and possibly to the whole country, is not perhaps fully realized in responsible quarters. I understand that there is a British brigadier at Secunderabad with practically no troops. It is most essential for the safety of our province, and of all India as a whole, to have a Hindu brigadier at Secunderabad with one battalion and one armoured division to nip any trouble emanating from the Nizam in the bud. There is considerable agitation among his Hindu subjects and consequent repression and this would give an excuse to finish him.
4. India should start immediately as many factories as possible for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. Jubbulpore had the biggest factory of this kind during wartime, but it has now been dismantled. It is most essential that it should be put into working order immediately.
5. Jubbulpore is an extremely important military centre in India in view of the existence of COD, GCF, Signal Training Centre, etc. Kamptee is comparatively unimportant, and it will be desirable to have the headquarters of the GOC shifted from Kamptee to Jubbulpore.

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Nagpur
21 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have received from Katni in Jubbulpore district. You have already received yesterday

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my letter enclosing a letter from the Commissioner, Jubbulpore Division. This is in addition to what information the Commissioner has given.

Yours sincerely,
R. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

LETTER DATED 19 OCTOBER 1947 FROM PANDIT POORANCHAND SHARMA, PRESIDENT, TOWN CONGRESS COMMITTEE, KATNI, CP, TO PANDIT SHUKLA, PREMIER, CP AND BERAR, NAGPUR

Most respectfully, I beg to bring to your kind notice that a good deal of maladministration is being reported from several sources about the local IEME Training Centre, which is mostly manned by British officers. These officers have all opted out for Pakistan and still they have the reigns of administration of the companies stationed here.

Recently allocation of instruments, tools, trucks, etc., is reported to have taken place for India and Pakistan here and these officers are reported to have allocated a proportionately larger quantity and better quality of materials for Pakistan and this they have been able to do at their sweet will, as no board or commission consisting of non-Muslims was sent for the purpose. Allocation of ration store and clothing store is also reported to have taken place and it is reported that even warm clothing has been issued for about 2,000 Pakistan-bound personnel out of allotment for India.

Some 2 or 3 weeks back, Muslims were caught redhanded by a Hindu jamadar in the blacksmithy workshop of E Company at this centre, when they were preparing daggers. Three Muslims were also found possessed of revolvers. But all these cases have been withdrawn or overlooked by these British officers. An enquiry against Quartermaster Herald regarding embezzlement is also reported to have been withdrawn without any reasonable grounds.

About 1,500 persons are to leave for Pakistan from this centre and their luggage is reported to have been packed and loaded on 70 trucks under the sole supervision of Muslims. Non-Muslims had no access to look into the matter at all. This has given [rise] to a rumour, which might even be a fact, that a good deal of arms have been packed in these trucks.

All these things, I humbly suggest, require a thorough inquiry and investigation and it is hoped you will kindly pay your personal attention to the matter. An Indian OC is the prime necessity of the centre, after which the materials can be reallocated and searches of these 70 trucks held.

Hoping to be excused for the trouble.

Nagpur
2 March 1947

Dear Sardarji,

I find from the newspapers that a few seats on the advisory committee set up by the Constituent Assembly have yet to be filled by nomination by the President. I venture to address you in your capacity as chairman of the advisory committee, and I offer my services for what they are worth, in case they are needed for the work of the committee. While anxious not to create the impression of place—or seat-hunting, I request that I may not be misunderstood when I say that I am far freer than some at least of the members of the committee to devote my time, energy and attention to the task which has of late been invested with a compelling urgency.

I have addressed a separate letter in a similar strain to the President of the Constituent Assembly. If you think I have transgressed the bounds of propriety, pardon me.

Very sincerely yours,
H. V. Kamath¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
9 March 1947

My dear Kamath,

I have received your letter of the 2nd instant.

Nomination to the committee rests with the President and the remaining quota which has to be filled is, as far as I understand, restricted to certain interests such as the Muslims in minority provinces and the princes' representatives. I do not know

¹Joined ICS in London 1929; resigned 1938 to join freedom movement; later joined Forward Bloc; member, CA, 1940; elected to Lok Sabha on PSP ticket in 1955 and 1962; member, Administrative Reforms Commission

whether any scope is left there for you to be included in it, but I will enquire.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri H. V. Kamath
Nagpur

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6 July 1947

My dear Ravishankar,

Mr. Gibbons was elected from your Assembly at our suggestion as a representative of the Anglo-Indian community. On account of the separation of Western Punjab, he has resigned from the Constituent Assembly and in his place Mr. Frank Anthony¹ is to be elected. Will you please make necessary arrangements for this purpose?

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Prime Minister, Central Provinces
Nagpur

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Maiher State
C/o D. K. Salve
9 October 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I have been severely ill for the last month and a half. I am writing to you from my sickbed here. I could not get proper medical attention at Nagpur and so I came here where the Chief Medical Officer has a good reputation. I have much improved by his treatment but it will take another fortnight or so before I fully recover. I had contracted gastritis in Vellore Jail and that has been giving me trouble since 1943.

¹ President, Anglo-Indian Association; India's representative to Commonwealth Parliamentary Conference held in 1948; member of CA; nominated member, Lok Sabha since 1952

I called on Pandit Ravishankar Shukla, Premier, at Nagpur several times for getting me elected to the Constituent Assembly. You are aware of the complicated tangles of the CP Cabinet. The Premier has been putting me off for some reason or other. The last reason he gave me was that Kalappa represents the labour seat and it will go, if at all, to a labour representative.

Without your positive direction the Cabinet in CP will not move in the matter. That is my view.

I hope this finds you in the best of health.

Yours sincerely,
P. K. Salve¹

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New Delhi
13 October 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter dated 9 October 1947. When Pandit Ravishankar Shukla comes here next, I shall speak to him about you. Till then I am afraid I am unable to say what can be done about you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri P. K. Salve
C/o Shri D. K. Salve
Maiher State.

¹Nationalist Christian who was Congress worker, went to jail during freedom movement

CHAPTER VI

MADRAS : PRAKASAM AFFAIR

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New Delhi
29 March 1947

My dear Dr. Subbarayan,¹

I have received a copy of a memorandum dated March 13, 1947 from P. C. Joshi, General Secretary of the Communist Party. As you have now the responsibility of dealing with this matter, I would like to know what is the actual state of things in your province regarding the activities of the Communist Party, its strength and the measures taken by the Government of Madras against them. The Communists are past-masters in the art of propaganda, and therefore whenever any action is taken against them, they make representations in all quarters and make considerable noise. Very often their representations are not taken seriously, as there is a general prejudice created against them on account of their habit of misrepresenting and exaggerating facts. This is a question which will have to be delicately handled and I should like to know your views.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan
Minister for Home Affairs
Government of Madras
Fort St. George
Madras

¹ Landlord; MLA (Madras); member, AICC, 1937-49; Law Minister (Madras), 1937-39 and 1947-48; member, CA; Chief Minister of Madras; Ambassador to Indonesia, 1949-51; MP (Rajya Sabha); Union Minister, 1954-57; Governor of Bombay

ENCLOSURE

Madras
13 March 1947

To
The President and Members of the Working Committee
Indian National Congress

Dear Friend,

I have received sad news from the Vellore Central Jail, where 120 Communists, victims of the ordinance of the Madras Government, are confined as detenus.

I am enclosing a memo of their demands. They applied for being given the same facilities as were granted to Congress detenus under the hated Adviser regime. They received no satisfactory reply.

Recently the Minister of Jails, Syt. Bhashyam, visited them in the Vellore Jail. I am enclosing a letter received from one of the detenus describing Syt. Bhashyam's attitude and replies to the various demands.

It is a clear case of political vindictiveness on the part of Syt. Bhashyam and not one of fairness towards those who have not even been given the benefit of a public trial or even an inquiry.

Such an attitude on the part of a Congress Minister should not be allowed to last one day.

There are certain minimum standards of humanity, fairness and decency that must be practised in our common political life.

I request you to go through the memo of demands, see how reasonable and just they are and to see how unfair and callous was the attitude of Syt. Bhashyam.

As can be seen from the letter enclosed, the detenus have reached the limit of [their] patience. Nevertheless they have decided to give the Madras Ministry time up to April to redress their grievances. It is now nearly the middle of March. Their demands are just and they are all young and determined. As the matter is urgent I hope you will intervene quickly and induce the Congress Ministry in Madras to speed up acceptance of these demands. Without your intervention there is little hope of redress and a hunger-strike will be inevitable.

In particular, I request you to secure the immediate release of the only woman detenu in the Vellore Central Jail, Kamala Ramaswamy, who is the

grand-daughter-in-law of Dr. T. S. S. Rajan,¹ ex-Minister of Madras. She is a young expectant mother. . . . She and her husband are both party whole-timers but no one in his senses can say that her release particularly in her present condition can be a menace to public security or order in the province. It is cruel to keep her in jail.

The attitude shown by Minister Bhashyam to the demand for extra diet and clothing allowance for her has deeply pained and shocked us all, as it must you also. I hope you will immediately intervene in the matter.

Thanking you,

Yours truly,
P. C. Joshi

Shri Vallabhbhai Patel

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27 April 1947

My dear Dr. Subbarayan,

I am sending you herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. P. C. Joshi and my reply thereto.

If you can induce [Mohan] Kumaramangalam² to influence the party to change its attitude towards Congress Governments and abandon the path of violence and take to co-operative and constructive activities, it would be easy for us to help them. I would like you to see the young men in your jails and enquire from them whether they wish to abandon the path of violence and be helpful and adopt a co-operative attitude in the matter of serving the cause of labour and peasants. After all, this is a common cause between us and them. Our only difference is the method which they employ.

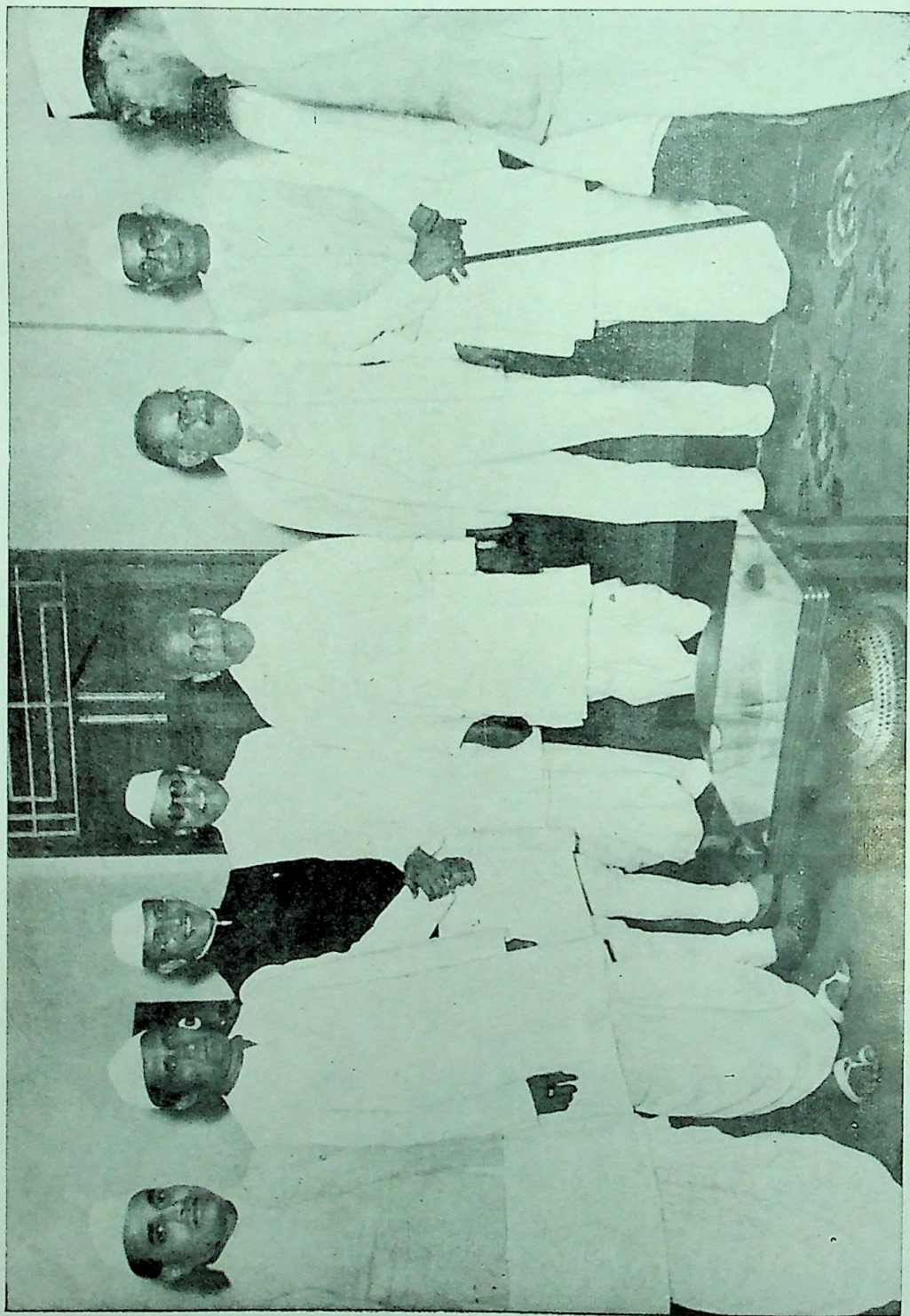
Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan
Madras

¹ Elected to Central Assembly, 1935; Health Minister in Rajaji Ministry in Madras, 1937; resigned from Congress, 1938

² Chairman, Indian Airlines 1969-70; joined Mrs. Gandhi's Cabinet as Minister of Steel in 1972





WITH MEMBERS OF THE B. G. KHER CABINET AND CONGRESS LEADERS DURING ONE OF HIS VISITS TO BOMBAY

ENCLOSURE I

Raj Bhavan
Sandhurst Road
Bombay-4
24 April 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Thanks for your letter of 22 April informing me about Kamala Ramaswamy's release. But I am sure you will agree with me that to release one of the women prisoners who is pregnant on the ground of health is only kindness and not yet justice, because 119 of her comrades, patriotic sons of India, yet remain detained in Vellore jail without trial and that they should either be immediately released or put up for open trial. Under a Congress Ministry we do not expect detentions under extraordinary legislation but more facilities to work for a better life for our people and the freedom of our country.

This wrong must be righted immediately and at all cost. India is on the eve of power and nothing can stop her from final victory and complete independence except internal conflicts that stare us in the face and bring shame upon us all. I assure you that our party contributes its entire strength to ensure that the forces of Indian freedom are so marshalled that freedom by June 1948 does not remain only a British promise but is realised in reality. This is the one single task facing us all and detention of our comrades in Vellore as also other repressive measures against us of which I wrote to you are a hindrance and weaken the national forces when they need to be brought closer and together. I hope you will do all in your power to ensure their immediate and unconditional release.

Yours sincerely,
P. C. Joshi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE II

27 April 1947

My dear Joshi,

I have received your letter of 24 April 1947.

It is quite true that you would not expect detentions under extraordinary legislation under Congress Ministries, but it is equally true that Congress

Ministries did not expect that your organisation will adopt such an obstructionist attitude when popular Ministries came in power. You were prepared to co-operate all throughout when the Congress Ministries were fighting with their back to the wall with the Government in their strong repressive policy against the Congress. It is no pleasure to see rotting in jail young men fired with enthusiasm and making sacrifices for a cause which they consider to be for the good of the toiling peasants and workers, but if you only see your way to change your methods and co-operate with the Congress in this work, you would certainly be able to do it better than by adopting a hostile attitude. After all, the Government cannot be expected to allow force and violence to be used against any class of people if it is to rule.

I agree with you that India is on the eve of power and that these internal conflicts and insecurity bring nothing but discredit and disgrace to all of us. If you would make it easy for the provincial Governments to carry on their work during this critical period of about fifteen months by co-operating with them, you would be rendering a great service to the country and relieving them from the most unpleasant task of detaining or imprisoning young men who could otherwise be extremely useful in the task of constructive activities.

Please believe me when I say that we are all extremely sorry to see that your organisation, which has so many young men and women of talents, energy, enthusiasm and spirit of service and sacrifice, is being continuously used in obstructing and embarrassing the popular Government since it has come in power and is working under extremely difficult circumstances.

I am writing to you not in my official capacity, but as a sincere friend of yours and many of your comrades.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

P. C. Joshi, Esq.
General Secretary
The Communist Party of India
Bombay-4

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EXTRACT

Madras
10 May 1947

My dear Sardarji,

With regard to the Communists, after what you told me and after your letter, I wrote to Mohan that if they accepted your advice given in the letter to Joshi, a copy of which you forwarded

to me, they may be able to carry on their normal activities. I also further stressed the point that emphasis should be paid to non-violence in any activity they might have to undertake. I am enclosing a copy of his reply, which, I think, deals fully with the question and it is of interest. I am not replying to him till I hear from you, as I feel advice from you in this matter is all important and I would act on whatever advice you might give me. Meanwhile their central committee would have met and I think will deal with your letter to Joshi. However I shall be grateful if you will go through this long letter of Mohan's and advise me.

With pranams,

Yours affectionately,
P. Subbarayan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACTS

Raj Bhavan
Sandhurst Road
Bombay 4
6 May 1947

Dear Father,

You will remember that what Sardarji has asked is that we "should make it easy for the provincial Governments to carry on their work during this critical period of about fifteen months by co-operating with them."

I would like here to emphasise again what I repeatedly had said to you and your colleagues in my talks last month; the Communist Party wishes to see that industrial and agrarian peace [is] maintained and offers its co-operation to that end to the Ministry; but it also believes that this is only possible if the Ministry itself takes certain positive steps in relation to the rapidly worsening conditions of the people, in particular the industrial workers and the poor peasantry in the countryside.

The Communist Party stresses in particular that this means that the Ministry should take steps to introduce legislation in relation to trade union recognition, victimisation and security of employment, wage relief, pending legislation for a minimum wage and the prompt settlement of industrial disputes; concrete proposals for such legislation the party will strive to put forward at the

coming tripartite conference. It is the taking of such steps that will reduce and minimise strikes and render possible stable industrial peace (as the TNPCC resolutions of last month also emphasised).

Equally in relation to the peasantry, the party stresses the need for immediate legislation to stop evictions by the zamindars, to raise the share of the share-cropper and to tackle certain urgent problems like the ownership of houses in Harijan cheris [colonies] in Tanjore. Here also the party will strive to put forward more detailed proposals in the near future, and here again are the essential steps that must be taken both to ensure agrarian peace and effective food production.

But if the Ministry wishes to see that offer of co-operation translated into practice so that it is of real effective aid to it in solving the difficult problems facing it, then the first thing for the Ministry to do is to release and withdraw the warrants on important Communist leaders at present in jail or underground.

Yours,
Mohan

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan
Home Minister, Madras

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Madras
29 May 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I hope you had my last letter enclosing a copy of Mohan's letter. I know you have been very busy and that is the reason why I have not heard from you as yet on this matter. I have no doubt you will be busy with the meeting of the Working Committee and the conference on the 2nd of June. I trust you will let me have your advice when you are free.

I have already submitted a memorandum with regard to a model provincial constitution to you. I do not know whether you have read it. Since then Mr. [K.] Santhanam¹ has sent me a memorandum which has some points worth considering. I will have copies of the memorandum made and sent to the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly so that other members could

¹ Member, Indian Legislative Assembly, 1937-42; Joint Editor, Hindustan Times, 1943-48; Member, CA, from 1946; Minister of State for Railways and Transport, 1948-52; Lieut-Governor, Vindhya Pradesh, 1952-56; Chairman, Third Finance Commission

have it also before our meeting, and they may consider the suggestions made therein.

I do not know whether it will be possible to meet on the 5th as has been arranged now for the provincial constitution committee. If there is any alteration of date, I should be grateful if a wire is sent to me so that I could adjust my programme.

Mr. Chandramouli has assured me that he had nothing to do with the collection for the Socialist Party and that he took no part in any such collection. I trust this will satisfy you.

With pranams,

Yours affectionately,
P. Subbarayan

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
31 May 1947

My dear Dr. Subbarayan,

Thank you for your letter of 29 May 1947. I did not write to you about Mohan's letter because I was awaiting P. C. Joshi's reply for the consideration of which Mohan said that a meeting of the executive committee was being called. It seemed to me that there was no point in my giving any reply in the absence of an authoritative communication from Joshi himself.

2. I have seen your memorandum and passed it on to Rajen Babu.

3. As far as I can see, there is no possibility of a change in the date of the provincial constitution committee meeting.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan
Madras

New Delhi
1 August 1947

My dear Dr. Subbarayan,

I read your letter of 25 June 1947.

Mohan saw me last week and so also P. C. Joshi. They have given no reply to my letter which I had written to Mr. Joshi and a copy of which was forwarded to you. You had written to Mohan to accept my advice given in that letter. There has been no formal reply from them. They made no reference about it when they met me here.

Mohan was anxious about his men who were in detention in Madras, and they are a large number according to him. Besides a very large number of others are under prosecution. I have told him that, if he can satisfy you that they will not give any trouble in future and will co-operate with the Madras Government in their work, or at least assure them that they will not use violence in their activities, I will use my influence to see that they are released. He told me that although he would be able to satisfy you, you would not be able to persuade the Ministry to change their policy towards the Communists. I have told him that, if he would be able to convince you, there would be no difficulty, but that he would be putting his father in a very embarrassing position if his people would not be able to fulfil the assurance.

Both of them deny emphatically that their party has anything to do with violence; but that is what they always say. Nobody can believe that with the overwhelming evidence that we have got in the provinces against their men about the methods which they employ, and it is their denial that makes me distrust their bona fides. I am, therefore, not in a position to advise you on my own initiative to relax the policy that is in force in Madras Presidency, but you are on the spot and you will be able to judge better about the conduct of the Communist people and their activities in your province. If you think that you can safely trust them and are satisfied that they will change their methods and their attitude towards the Madras Government, you can advise the Ministry to take the responsibility of

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your action in releasing them. After all, this is a matter of joint responsibility, as it affects a serious matter of policy. In the past, their record has not been satisfactory, and unless you are satisfied that they will act up to their professions and assurances, you cannot take the risk. I have found, in my conversation, that their programme remains the same. I have got that party's resolutions that were passed in Delhi, also, and I see no change. However, if you have anything more to enquire from me, you can write to me.

I trust you and Mrs. Subbarayan are doing well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan
Madras

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Camp New Delhi
17 February 1947

My dear Sardar V. Patel,

I thank you for your having left me in the company of Shri Rajendra Babu this evening in your room when you rushed into the Assembly in response to the bell call. I explained the legal and constitutional position of the so-called no-confidence motion about which so much undue publicity has been given by the irresponsible men violating the rules laid down by the Congress President recently. After leaving your room I read the statement of the President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee in which he said that there were no groups formed in the Madras Legislative Congress Party. Before coming to Delhi I wired to the Congress President to hold a secret session of the Congress Working Committee to enquire (1) into the Coimbatore mill affair, and (2) the group system that prevailed in the Madras Legislative Congress Party and its evils. Owing to the absence of the Congress President in the city, these matters could not be enquired into. The truth about these matters will have to be ascertained before the so-called no-confidence motion could be considered by the party itself. Again the question whether under the rules of the Congress Legislative Party a no-confidence motion can be moved in the party meeting has also to be

decided. As soon as I reach Madras tomorrow evening I shall proceed to decide these matters before calling for the party meeting itself. I explained my views on this second question to Babu Rajendra Prasad. Some of you could apply yourselves to the gravity of the situation created by the labour strike fomented by some of the Congress people themselves. I thank you, Sir, for all the help you have been giving me in regard to the provincial troubles I had to face. I placed all these matters relating to the Coimbatore labour strike before my Cabinet on the 14th night. I shall be reporting about these matters every fortnight to the Congress President as desired by him. A special report will be sent to you also with regard to the above two matters.

Yours sincerely,
T. Prakasam¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Note: Mr. Guruswamy, a Labour MLA of the Central Assembly, told me [tonight] that he made a speech on the floor of the House referring to the Coimbatore strike and how Tamil Nad Congress Committee people were responsible for fomenting that strike. He promised to send me a copy of his speech which you may also look into if and when it is published. I could not get sufficient time during my interview to impress upon you the gravity of the strike situation. Pandit Nehru could no doubt give some time to go through some papers I put into his hand regarding Kamaraj's statement that he was pledged to defeat this Ministry, etc.

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New Delhi
22 February 1947

My dear Prakasam,

I got your letter which you sent at my place just before leaving Delhi. You had also sent a copy of it to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and he has already replied to you [See enclosure]. I have nothing to add except to say that we are all interested in maintaining the reputation of our organisation, and I hope you will do nothing which would discredit the Congress in South India.

¹Congress leader known as "Lion of Andhra"; member, CA; Premier of Madras after 1946 elections; first Chief Minister of Andhra State

The proper course for any self-respecting man is to tender resignation from leadership of the party, in case he loses the confidence of a majority of the party. The best course would be to allow the party to decide this issue without raising any other side issues or technical questions of breach of rules or resolutions of the Congress executive. All these pale into insignificance in the matter of decision of the 'no-confidence' motion, and they all can be decided on their own merits independently of this question.

I have seen the resolution of the executive committee of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee in the Press. A number of telegrams are also received expressing confidence in you, and also expressing no confidence from several others. All this agitation and Press propaganda would not do us any credit and would stop only when the party decision is taken. You are too seasoned a politician to need any advice, and I am sure you will do nothing that would injure the cause of the Congress to which you have dedicated your life and for which you have made so many sacrifices.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. T. Prakasam
Prime Minister
Government of Madras
Madras

ENCLOSURE

17 York Road
New Delhi
20 February 1947

My dear Prakasam,

I have received the copy of the letter you sent to Sardar Patel. I do not know what you propose to do in the matter and I have no particular desire to interfere. It is for the Working Committee or the Congress President to do so if they think it desirable. But obviously I am anxious that the Congress prestige and our work should not suffer; and conditions in Madras are distressing. I am not in a position to judge or to cast blame on any one, but when such a state of affairs exists in any province it brings discredit to all concerned.

2. Of one thing I am quite sure. There can be no proper or effective Government in a province from the democratic point of view or any other unless there is mutual understanding and co-operation between the Ministry

and the majority party which supports it. There must, therefore, be constant consultation between the two. If there is any suspicion that a Ministry is holding on without the sanction of the party, the Government will gradually come to a standstill and the Ministry will be discredited.

3. I am personally acquainted chiefly with the working of the Central Assembly Congress Party here and the U.P. Assembly Congress Party. Both meet frequently, sometimes from day to day, to consider important matters with the Ministers. There is often some conflict between them, but an attempt is continuously made to resolve this conflict by full discussion. The moment that attempt fails, the Ministry will go regardless of the fact as to whether it is in the right or wrong.

4. I do not know how frequently you have been having meetings of your Assembly Congress Party or any consultations with them. In any event it is highly necessary that a very early meeting of the party should be held and a full discussion should take place. The final arbiter must be the party. There is no other way. It also seems to me dangerous to delay having a meeting of the party. When a challenge is made that has to be accepted immediately without a day's delay. Delay makes matters worse. I hope, therefore, that you will hold a very early meeting of your party, tell them what you have in mind and hear what they say. The matter is so important that no sudden decision should be taken and full time should be given for consideration.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Shri T. Prakasam
Prime Minister of Madras
Fort St. George
Madras

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New Delhi
19 February 1947

My dear Rajaji,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of Mr. Prakasam's letter which was received by me yesterday evening when I returned home [See No. 214]. It seems clear that he does not intend to hold the meeting as instructed and probably wants to carry out his plan of delay.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajagopalachari
1 Clive Road
New Delhi

19 February 1947

My dear Vallabhbbhai,

I have read Prakasam's letter sent by you with your note. I agree with you he is determined on flouting his party and banking on possibilities of winning over or creating confusion.

I feel you should acknowledge this letter of his and send him a final telegram to convene the party meeting at once and have the no-confidence motion voted upon. You may also perhaps ask Shankarrao to do it but there should be reference to the latest letter to you and a fresh directive sent in regard to the matter. Otherwise he will plead the matter is still pending.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

New Delhi
19 February 1947

My dear Rajen Babu,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I received from Mr. Prakasam in the evening when I returned home yesterday. It seems clear from the letter that his intention is not to carry out our instructions to call a meeting of the party before the Budget session. I do not know what further action can be taken by us to impress upon him the necessity of carrying out our instructions. I think it would be better if you send him a wire insisting on his doing so.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbbhai Patel

To

1. The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
2. The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
22 Prithviraj Road
New Delhi

Camp 6 Jantar Mantar Road
New Delhi
3 March 1947

My dear Prakasam,

Shri Shankarrao Deo has given me the report of what happened on the 28th. There appears to be no controversy about the facts. They were all reported in the Press. Shri Shankarrao tells me that before the meeting he tried to approach the two parties with a view to some sort of compromise. But he tells me that this could not be brought about.

In the meeting of 28 February you ruled out the consideration of the no-confidence motion on technical grounds. Now that it is clear that a large majority of the Congress members of the Madras Assembly Party are against your continuing to be the leader of the party and the Premier, I would like you to consider if it is worth your while to flout this clear decision merely on technical grounds. Would it not be more dignified for you to take this verdict of your colleagues in the legislature as conclusive and place your resignation in the hands of the party, and if the party so desires, hand over your resignation to the Governor and advise him to call the person who now commands the confidence of the majority of Congress members of the Assembly to form a new ministry? If you do this you would be discharging a patriotic duty however unpleasant it may be to you personally. At this stage of your life and with your unbroken record of nearly thirty years of public service it should not be difficult for you to act as I have suggested. I am sure the whole country will greatly appreciate such an action of yours. If however you take up your stand on technical grounds the Parliamentary Board will have to go into the question and give its directive. I hope you will not put the strain of deciding the question on the Parliamentary Board.

You will please wire to me what you propose to do to enable me to put the case before the Parliamentary Board and also before the Working Committee as the latter is meeting on the 6th instant.

May God guide you to do the right thing by the Congress and the country.

[This letter appears to have been addressed by J. B. Kripalani as Congress President.]

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New Delhi
9 March 1947

My dear Prakasam,

It has been brought to my notice that your Government have announced in a Press Note that only two-thirds of the vacancies which were previously reserved for war service candidates will be filled by the appointment of such candidates and the remaining one-third will be filled by the appointment of holders of temporary posts. This is bound to give rise to some discontentment in the Armed Forces, which I think it is necessary to avoid, particularly at the present juncture. As far as I am aware, all other provincial Ministries are doing their best to fulfil their undertakings in this behalf, and I would advise you to do the same so long as qualified candidates are available from ex-Servicemen. I hope it will be possible for you to reconsider your order accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. T. Prakasam
Madras

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Fort St. George
22 March 1947

My dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of 9 March 1947 regarding ex-Servicemen I have to say that the matter has been very carefully considered by a sub-committee of the Cabinet and subsequently by the full Cabinet at its meeting held on 18-11-46. It may be noted that the Madras Government decided in 1941 to reserve for ex-Servicemen only 50% of all substantive vacancies arising on or after 1-4-41 which should be filled by direct recruitment. In the case of posts which may be filled by women it was decided that only 25% need be reserved.

2. Subsequently in 1942 after the war situation deteriorated they decided that all substantive direct recruitment vacancies with a few exceptions should with effect from 1-1-43 be reserved for war service candidates until the termination of the war. Subsequently after the war was over the Adviser Government decided that with effect from 1-2-46 temporary vacancies of long duration should also be reserved for them even though the war had closed on 14-8-45.

3. It may be noted that in the meanwhile a very large number of competent persons have been filling these vacancies and there was, after this Government took office, repeated agitation on their part both through the Press and otherwise against the previous Government's policy stated above. The Government had also to consider the normal efficiency of the departments and it was of opinion that without at least some of these acting persons being retained it would be impossible to carry on the departments with any efficiency or satisfaction. With a view to reconcile the different claims and also the different announcements made from time to time as stated in paras 1-3 above both as to the proportion as well as the periods of time involved and also the fact that even though the war closed in August 1945, vacancies till 1-4-47 would be reserved for war service candidates, the Cabinet unanimously decided that two-thirds should go to ex-servicemen and the remaining one-third to those who have been actually working so long.

4. I have no information as to what other Governments have done, but at any rate, when we were working here we read at the time in the papers that in Assam and other places not all the posts would go to ex-servicemen only. We have, however, no later or accurate information on the subject.

5. I may inform you that so far as this province is concerned the decision of the Government which had been made nearly two months ago has been accepted as satisfactory by all concerned and necessary orders have been already issued to all the offices as well as to the Public Services Commission. To reverse the decision at this stage would lead to much trouble and difficulty.

Yours sincerely,
T. Prakasam

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

EXTRACT

Bro dipeta
Guntur
12 April 1947

Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel
President, Parliamentary Sub-Committee
Delhi

Sir,

I am sending herewith a cutting to show how a responsible Minister of the Madras Cabinet, which is installed with your conspiracy ousting Mr. Prakasam, is collecting funds to present to Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan as the man capable of ousting you.

Yours sincerely,

Y. Pullayya

Member, Town Congress Committee

ENCLOSURE

COPY OF PRESS CUTTING RECEIVED FROM MR. Y. PULLAYYA,
MEMBER, TOWN CONGRESS COMMITTEE, GUNTUR

Tenali

6 April

A tribute to the Madras Press "which stands first in the field of Indian journalism" was paid by Mr. K. Chandramouli, Minister for Local Administration, while inaugurating today the new Telugu weekly Jai Hind. The Minister did not want to be 'audacious enough to venture into a criticism of the Press.'

The Press should not be an underling of the Government but should strive to serve the villagers by bringing to light their grievances. The public should utilise the Press for ventilating their grievances, said the Minister.

Deploing the use of the columns of the Press by disgruntled politicians, the Minister said that party differences should be settled in party meetings and not discussed in public. The Minister expressed his hope that the new Telugu weekly would serve the people well.

Messrs. R. Narayana, P. Sriramulu and Mr. Nageswararao, MLA, appealed for supporting the journal and wished it success.

Mr. I. Chakradhar, announcing the tour programme of Mr. Jaiprakash Narayan, said that so far Rs. 10,000 had been collected towards the Socialist Party fund. The following donations were announced: Edulupalli village Rs. 2,000; Mr. P. Sriramulu Rs. 4,000; Mr. N. Venkataraju, MLA (Publisher Jai Hind) Rs. 150; Mr. M. Nageswararao Rs. 116. (F.O.C.)

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9 May 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of 12 April. It is strange that you still believe that there was a conspiracy to oust Mr. Prakasam and I was responsible for it. You may or may not believe it, but I must repudiate the charge and inform you that I have no part in it.

Your charge about Bengal being handed over to Muslims is equally baseless because in your blind partisanship you seem to ignore, or be ignorant of, obvious facts.

Dr. Satyapal¹ lost his leadership not because of us, but because he joined Government service during the war against Congress policy and no one can blame us for the Punjab situation.

You are still obviously unaware of the fact that I am doing nothing in the name of discipline in the Congress because I am neither the President of the Congress nor the Chairman of the Parliamentary Board.

The Press cutting that you have sent does not surprise me. If Madras province has no discipline and wants to work on party lines it is bound to be disintegrated. Personality should have no place in public life. It is the organisation as such that counts. If Mr. Prakasam has been ousted, it is because he had no party support. He had lost the party's confidence and for that nobody is responsible but himself.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Y. Pullayya
Member, Town Congress Committee
Brodipeta
Guntur

¹ Congress leader of Punjab

8 May 1947

My dear Prakasam,

Please refer to your letter of the 2nd instant.

Since the point raised by you refers to a resolution of the Working Committee, I have sent it to the Congress President who will no doubt give you an appropriate reply.

I am sorry to see, however, that you still persist in thinking and also representing that I was largely responsible for the fall of your Ministry. I have seen references to this both in the Press and in your statements. You know that I have taken no interest in your question at any stage since your appointment right up to this day. If, in spite of that, you still choose to entertain any grievance against me, I have nothing more to say.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri T. Prakasam
Madras

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TELEGRAM

25 March 1947

Hon'ble Ramaswami Reddy
Prime Minister
Madras

WE HAVE OFFICIALLY ASKED GOVERNMENT MADRAS TO RELIEVE RAO BAHADUR SANJEEVI PILLAI FOR APPOINTMENT DIRECTOR INTELLIGENCE BUREAU. I FULLY REALISE YOU CAN ILL AFFORD TO SPARE HIM BUT IT IS OF PARAMOUNT NECESSITY THAT WE SHOULD HAVE A FIRSTCLASS OFFICER AS DIRECTOR. AFTER GREAT DEAL OF SEARCH WE HAVE BEEN ABLE FIND IN HIM A SUITABLE PERSON. I TRUST THAT FULLY REALISING ALLINDIA IMPORTANCE OF THIS POST AND ABSENCE OF ANY OTHER SUITABLE CANDIDATE YOU WILL AGREE TO SPARE HIM. PLEASE [wire] REPLY IMMEDIATELY.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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S.C.-V-14

Madras
26 March 1947

My dear Sardarji,

The Prime Minister read out your telegram to [me] last evening with regard to Mr. T. G. Sanjeevi, who has been appointed to act as Commissioner of Police, Madras city, being wanted for the CIB at the Centre. I have agreed to release him as you particularly wanted him. I have not as yet told the IG about it as it had to be done in a hurry because of your telegram. But I feel certain that he will agree to his being sent to the Centre, though it is only a formal matter.

I did not want to trouble you with any letter at the present time, but as this has given me an opportunity I like to seek your blessings on this occasion. It is not an easy task and to be frank with you, I would far rather not have taken the Home Department, and you know why. But as the Prime Minister wanted me to have it, I have taken it on. But even now when the Ministry is fully reconstituted I hope to persuade my colleagues to give me some other department. But before I do this, I would like to have your advice on this matter; as I have told you, I regard you as an elder brother guiding me and only in that capacity I seek your advice which I trust you will give unstintingly.

Please remember me to Maniben as I can never forget her kindness.

With pranams,

Yours affectionately,
P. Subbarayan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
29 March 1947

My dear Subbarayan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 26th instant.

I am glad you have agreed to spare Mr. Sanjeevi Pillai. He is badly needed here for a post for which it is very difficult to get a suitable officer.

I notice that even after redistribution of portfolios you continue to be in charge of Home Affairs. I fully appreciate your embarrassment in this on account of the political associations of members of your own family, but all of us have to place our duty to the country first and discharge the responsibilities which devolve upon us in our public capacity without regard to domestic considerations. I have no doubt that you will approach your task in that spirit. The situation in the country and in your province demands firm action and vigilance. Labour is restless and production is seriously affected. The communal situation is far from well. In these circumstances, it is the primary duty of all of us to maintain peace, law and order with a firm hand, and in that task you will have my advice and guidance at your disposal.

With all good wishes for success in your new undertaking.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan
Home Minister
Madras

TELEGRAM

29 March 1947

From Reasonabili Madras
To Home Deptt New Delhi

IMPORTANT. FOLLOWING FOR SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL FROM
SUBBARAYAN. HAVE RELEASED SANJEEVI PILLAI EMPLOYMENT CENTRAL

GOVERNMENT. WE ARE VERY SHORTHANDED. WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD SEE YOUR WAY TO RELEASING BAILEY FROM CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE BUREAU FOR APPOINTMENT AS DIG MADRAS. WILL BE VERY GRATEFUL FOR THIS KIND ACT.

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White's Garden
Royapettah
Madras

30 March 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I hope you had my telegram with regard to the release of Mr. Bailey. We are rather shorthanded with senior officers at the present time. Mr. Sanjeevi Pillai whom you have asked for and whom we have released was to have been the Commissioner of Police in the city of Madras. Mr. Bailey will be useful to us in this connection, though I have not as yet decided whether he should be posted as Commissioner in the city. Mr. Sanjeevi Pillai in all likelihood will leave here on 3 April and reach Delhi on the 5th. We were not able to release him before the 2nd because we had to make the necessary changes before he was relieved. I have taken urgent action on this so that Mr. Sanjeevi Pillai can be at your disposal as soon as possible. I shall be grateful if you will be so good as to see that Mr. Bailey will be relieved soon after Mr. Sanjeevi Pillai reaches Delhi and you are able to make other arrangements to release Mr. Bailey.

Please remember me to Maniben.

With pranams,

Yours affectionately,
P. Subbarayan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
2 April 1947

My dear Subbarayan,

I have received your telegram [29 March] and your letter of 30 March 1947 regarding Bailey.

2. I have no desire to stand in your way in securing the return of Bailey to your province in order that you may be able to make use of his services as DIG. At the same time I feel I should let you know that Bailey has apparently made up his mind to leave as soon as the Secretary of State's Services are terminated which may be some time within the next few months. Would it not be better, therefore, for you to make other arrangements which may have some lasting value instead of making this change now and making a change again after some months? Bailey himself would like to avoid another transfer before he finally left the service but has agreed to abide by such orders as I may finally issue on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. P. Subbarayan
Madras

Camp Tiruchengode
Salem District
7 April 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Thank you very much for your letter of 2 April. I am grateful to you for saying that you will not stand in the way of my getting Bailey back to Madras. I want him specially to take the place of the Commissioner of Madras city, for which Mr. Sanjeevi Pillai had already been selected. I see that Mr. Bailey has almost made up his mind to leave when the Secretary of State's Services are terminated. When he does come to Madras, I hope

to try and induce him to remain for some time till I could make satisfactory arrangements about a Commissioner when the Secretary of State's Services finally decide to leave. I think Mr. Bailey did not wish to come back to Madras to be appointed a DIG in charge of administration at the IG's office. That was the place the IG was prepared to offer him. But after discussion with me he has agreed that I should have Mr. Bailey as Commissioner of the city of Madras. I have known Mr. Bailey for many years and from my knowledge of him, I feel he has tact and personality to get through the difficult times which we are facing in the city today. Even if Mr. Bailey were to be here for a few months, I feel he could tide over the present condition. Therefore I hope you would induce Mr. Bailey to come back to Madras as soon as you can relieve him. I am glad you feel that Mr. Bailey will abide by any orders you may finally issue on the subject. Therefore I respectfully request you to let Mr. Bailey come back to Madras even though it be for a few months.

Dr. Rajan's grand-daughter-in-law, of whom the Secretary of the Communist Party wrote to you, a copy of which letter you forwarded, has now been released as she is to have a child soon. As a matter of fact, orders were passed on this matter before Mr. Prakasam resigned.

Mr. Madhava Menon¹ who went and saw the detenus at the Central Jail, Vellore, has, I think, rectified most of the matters that they complained about in the letter to you. Of course, they want to be released, but at the present juncture, with the threat of strikes everywhere, it is impossible to accept their contentions and unless the strike situation can be faced it will not be wise at the present juncture to let them out. I hope to discuss this matter with you when I am in Delhi.

I trust you are well and your strenuous tour of Gujarat has not tired you too much.

I was glad to read your speech and I hope Bapu's talks with the new Viceroy will result in some agreement and the work of the Constituent Assembly will go forward successfully and we shall be prepared for the transfer of power when it does come. I feel there ought to be a committee of the Constituent Assembly like the Union Powers Committee which will put forward proposals for the constitution of provinces. When that is done the sections may meet and decide whether there should be a group constitution,

¹ Former Chairman, Calicut Municipality, President, Kerala PCC; minister, 1946-48

though personally as I have said several times this three-tier constitution will be very difficult to work as it is something new and is not found in any constitutional set-up in the world. However, I hope to discuss this matter with you also when I am in Delhi.

Please remember me to Maniben.

With affectionate regards,

Yours,
P. Subbarayan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
22 April 1947

My dear Subbarayan,

Many thanks for your letters regarding Bailey. I am sorry that owing to a further development it would not now be possible for us to spare him. There are three deputy directors of the Intelligence Bureau of whom one reverted to the Punjab about a month ago and the other has just now proceeded on deputation to Italy as Trade Commissioner. This leaves only one deputy director, namely, Bailey, who has had sufficiently long experience of the office and Sanjeevi Pillai is most reluctant to part with him. I myself feel that it would be administratively most inconvenient to denude the higher personnel of the Bureau of the only experienced man available. Sanjeevi Pillai feels that, while it would be possible for you to get a suitable man there for the post for which you have Bailey in view, Bailey's experience of the Bureau would not be available in any new substitute.

In these circumstances, I hope you will not press for the reversion of Bailey. Bailey himself is reluctant to go.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Sabbarayan
Madras

New Delhi
11 April 1947

Dear Prime Minister,

I have received a complaint from Mr. S. Nachimuthu Gounder, B.A., District Panchayat Officer-in-Charge, Coimbatore. He is a Scheduled Caste man and from his application I find that he is being persecuted by his surroundings because of his being a member of the Scheduled Caste. If such persecution is allowed to go on, it would be no surprise if discontent among the untouchables increases. Something should be done to remove his legitimate grievances. Mere passing of legislation for the removal of social disabilities is of no avail if the Congress organisation or its Ministry takes no action actively to help them in such matters. I trust you will see your way to remove his grievances.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy
Prime Minister
Madras

Madras
31 May 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Your letter of 11 April 1947 regarding complaint from Shri S. Nachimuthu Gounder, District Panchayat Officer, Coimbatore.

We have called for a report on the allegations in the petition and when it is received we will do the needful.

Yours sincerely,
O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Madras Provincial Muslim Jamiat
No. 1, Gopalday Road
Mount Road, Madras
25 April 1947

Respected Sir,

I am directed by the executive committee of the Madras Provincial Muslim Jamiat to communicate to you the text of the resolution unanimously adopted at its meeting held on 24 April 1947. A copy of the resolution is enclosed. I request you to bestow most sympathetic consideration to the suggestion made in it.

Thanking you in anticipation,

Yours sincerely,
S. A. Maulana
General Secretary

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

The Madras Provincial Muslim Jamiat met on 24 April 1947 and adopted the following resolution:

The situation in Madras province since the formation of the new Ministry demands active Muslim participation in the administration. The condition of the Muslim community warrants special attention to remove the cause of communal friction and promote harmony.

Only a Congress Muslim can act as liaison between Muslims and non-Muslims now artificially separated by the pernicious electoral system.

This Jamiat therefore urges on the Congress High Command the immediate inclusion of a Congress Muslim in the Madras Ministry.

This Jamiat therefore strongly urges the inclusion of Janab S. A. Shafee Mohamed as a Minister. He has rendered great service to the cause of the country, as a Congressman for over thirty years. He naturally commands the confidence and respect of all the communities in the province.

27 April 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 25th instant and its enclosure.

Everybody in India is aware of the fact that communal friction and bitterness has ruined the country, and unless peace and harmony is restored there can be no future for the country. The only way to remove the root cause of all this ill is the removal of what you call "pernicious electoral system." But unfortunately there are hardly any Muslim leaders who would speak out their mind and try to agitate or influence the Muslim public. The inclusion of individuals with no following as Ministers would not solve the problem. On the contrary, the Muslim League feels more offended by any such action on the part of the Congress. The proper remedy is to educate the Muslim masses on the right lines.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The General Secretary
The Madras Provincial Muslim Jamiat
Madras

New Delhi
16 June 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I enclose a copy of my letter to the Premier of Madras.

I shall be most grateful if you will be kind enough to give the All-India [Anglo-Indian] Association whatever assistance you possibly can. I have based my request on absolute facts which can be verified from Messrs. Fowler and Fernandez, the representatives of my community in the Madras Legislature.

Thanking you and with my kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Frank Anthony

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

14 June 1947

Dear Mr. Reddy,

I write to you on a matter of considerable importance to my community in Madras Presidency. It is with regard to the continuing recognition by the provincial Government of what is known as the Anglo-Indian and Domiciled European Association of Southern India. I feel that under the present circumstances the All-India Anglo-Indian Association has the right to ask that the provincial Government should no longer recognise this so-called Southern India Association. The facts of the case are briefly these:

- (1) It is admitted that the Southern India Association has been in existence for a considerable time. As a matter of fact, this was permitted by the All-India Association so long as the Southern India Association did nothing which was prejudicial to the interests of my community.
- (2) In spite of repeated efforts by the late Sir Henry Gidney and myself to get the South Indian Association to change its policy nothing materialised. When I assumed the leadership of my community, as the elected President-in-Chief of the All-India Anglo-Indian Association, in 1942, I made every effort to bring about a settlement with the South India organisation. All my efforts having failed and finding the South India organisation policy was anti-nationalist I regarded its continuance as a definite menace to the future well-being of my community. In 1943, therefore, the All-India Association began setting up its own branches throughout Madras Presidency. Owing to its acknowledged representative capacity the Anglo-Indians of South India flocked to the all-India association.

During the last provincial elections the South India organisation set up two candidates against the candidates of the all-India organisation. The candidates of the all-India organisation, Mr. Fowler, MLA (Madras) and Mr. Fernandez, MLA (Madras), defeated the candidates of the South India organisation by an overwhelming majority. Since then the all-India organisation has steadily grown in strength till today it has 20 branches in Madras Presidency and also has six other branches in the remaining parts of South India.

While the all-India association thus has 26 branches in South India the Southern India Association has at the very most three genuine branches. I claim that the all-India association is at least ten times stronger than the South India organisation in South India alone. The fact that both our candidates won by an overwhelming majority is also conclusive evidence of the solely re-

presentative character of the all-India association in Madras Presidency and in South India.

The all-India organisation can claim quite rightly to be the only body fully representative of the Anglo-Indian community throughout India. It has today almost a hundred branches throughout the country. Apart from winning both the Anglo-Indian seats in the Madras Legislature, it has won every seat in every other legislature in the country, including the two seats in the States of Mysore and Cochin.

The Government of India have since 1924 recognised the all-India organisation as being the only body representative of my community throughout India, with the result that the elected head of the Association has been invariably nominated by the Central Government to represent my community not only in the Central Legislature but on every other important committee or commission at the Centre.

We are now asking, in view of the overwhelming strength of the all-India body in Madras Presidency and the fact that we no longer recognise the Southern India association as we did in the past, that the provincial Government be pleased to withdraw all recognition from this South India organisation which has ceased increasingly to possess the slightest representative capacity.

I might mention that the Congress Party also, quite rightly, recognised the all-India body as representing my community in Madras Presidency. It was because of this that Mr. Prater, MLA (Bombay) was returned from Madras, with the support of the two Anglo-Indian MLAs in the Madras Legislature, as one of my community's representatives in the Constituent Assembly.

In a desperate effort to [stave] off complete effacement the Southern India organisation has now resorted to accusing the all-India association as being the stooge of the Congress. This is a deliberate calumny as it has always been the policy of the all-India association to work for the best interests of the Anglo-Indian community while bringing it completely into line with nationalist aspirations and sentiments. By continuing recognition of this now completely unrepresentative organisation, a serious disservice is being done to my community in Madras Presidency.

I shall be most grateful, therefore, if the provincial Government be pleased immediately to withdraw all recognition from this organisation and to prohibit it from issuing certificates to members of my community, which are required before Anglo-Indians are employed in Government service.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
Frank Anthony

The Hon'ble Omandur P. Ramaswamy Reddy
Premier
Madras

New Delhi
19 June 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

Mr. Frank Anthony has written to you separately about the withdrawal of recognition from the Southern India Anglo-Indian Association. If what he says is correct, there is something to be said from his point of view. Anthony has been most helpful to us, and if you can accommodate him, having regard to your provincial interests, you might do something.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy
Prime Minister
Madras

TELEGRAM

19 June 1947

From Reasonabili Madras
To Home Department New Delhi

IMPORTANT. FOLLOWING FOR SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL FROM SUBBARAYAN MADRAS. REFERENCE COMMUTATION OF SENTENCE OF ANDAMAN IBRAHIM. 2. I HAVE NOW SEEN FILE AND CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH SENTENCE WAS COMMUTED. TWO PERSONS FOUND GUILTY OF MURDER. BOTH WERE SENTENCED TO DEATH. THE SENTENCE OF ONE COMMUTED AND THE OTHER (ANDAMAN IBRAHIM) REFUSED ORIGINALLY. REPORTED COMPROMISE BY WHICH 73 HINDUS WHO HAD BEEN PROSECUTED FOR LOOTING AND HOUSE BREAKING WERE DISCHARGED TO RESTORE GOOD RELATIONS. APPEAL FOR MERCY IN VIEW OF RESTORATION OF GOOD RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COMMUNITIES AND CONTINUATION OF SUCH RELATIONSHIP THE SENTENCE MAY BE COMMUTED. IN VIEW OF THIS I AGREED TO COMMUTATION OF ANDAMAN IBRAHIM ALSO WHICH WAS ACCEPTED BY GOVERNOR. I AM WRITING FULL DETAILS.

Madras
25 June 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I trust you have received my telegram in code with regard to the commutation of the sentence on Andaman Ibrahim. I took care to explain fully in the telegram itself the reasons which impelled me to commute this sentence. It was because some Hindus themselves represented that quiet had been restored in Bodinayanur and that as the other accused who was as much responsible for this as Andaman Ibrahim had had his sentence commuted, they felt the same consideration may be shown to Andaman Ibrahim. I have gone again through the file carefully and I find the person murdered was not the poojari [priest] of the temple, but another person who had had some altercations with the two persons condemned and the temple incident only aggravated the feelings between the parties. I trust you will now understand why this was done.

Mohan has written to me that he had a long talk with you and that you promised to write to me with regard to what I had asked your advice about. I believe P.C. Joshi also would have seen you as Mohan said he was going to see you during the course of a day or two. I would like your advice on the matter which I wrote to you about and you will give when you have had Joshi's reply. I shall be grateful for direction on this matter.

I hope to be in Delhi on the evening of 13 July. I know you must be busy with various matters, but I hope when you have the time you will write to me in detail as to what should be done in the matter of the relation between the Government and the Communists.

With pranams to you and my regards to Maniben.

Yours affectionately,
P. Subbarayan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
9 August 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have received from Mr. Gopala Menon. The tale which he unfolds is a tragic one, and I feel that any movement for the establishment of Moplahstan must be suppressed as soon as possible; otherwise it has great potentialities of mischief.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy
Madras

ENCLOSURE

Sivapuri
Calicut
6 August 1947

Dear Sardarji,

I hope you remember me. It is a regretful remembrance when I took a letter to you from Rajaji regarding an Assembly seat. That was the first and last recommendation I took in my life. I am not sorry. I knew that you could not then help.

I am writing this from Madras. I came here this morning to interview the Prime Minister and other Ministers concerned. The situation in Malabar is rather bad. I had a client—a long-standing client—by name Khan Saheb Unnien. Three years back he became a convert to Hinduism—Ramsimhan. His conversion was credited to me by the Muslim League for propaganda purposes against the Congress. I was acting as a damper on his new-found ardour. Well, on the night of the 2nd instant, at dead of night, a lorry load of men with arms broke open indoor, killed in cold blood Ramsimhan, his brother, brother's wife and a Brahmin cook. The younger brother had recently married a Hindu caste girl—Brahmin—aged 14. This is the month of Ramazan, the month of the freedom of not only India but also of Pakistan. They have set afoot an agitation for a Moplahstan in one taluk so that they may join

Moplahstan to Pakistan. But all this may mean shedding of innocent blood, and much sorrow and suffering. I may go over there some time near the 15th unless you call me.

Meanwhile, I am very much concerned over the fate of his two sons studying, I think, in Birla Sanatan Hindu School and living in some place under the auspices of Shri G. D. Birla. I had his full address which is at home. I shall send it as soon as I get back. Meanwhile, there is danger for the person of those two boys. They may remove them by force. The grandfather of the boys is a big boss among Moplahs. Once in his custody the boys will have to embrace Islam even against their wishes. If in this country each one cannot live his own life, it will be a poor freedom we have won. The boys also may need now financial help.

I beg to be excused for troubling you, but I thought you will not mind my troubling under these circumstances.

With namaskarams,

Yours sincerely,
U. Gopal Menon

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
24 August 1947

My dear Sardarji,

The Madras Legislative Assembly has been called upon to elect a member to the Constituent Assembly of India in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Shri C. Rajagopalachari. I do not know whether you would like to have Shri R. K. Shanmukham Ghetty¹ elected as a member of the Constituent Assembly in view of the fact that he has been appointed as a Member of the Cabinet. If that is so, I would like you to give directions from the Central Parliamentary Board for his election as a member of the Constituent Assembly. I think that would avoid trouble.

Yours sincerely,
O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel
New Delhi

¹ President, Central Legislative Assembly, 1933-35; first Finance Minister of free India

New Delhi
1 September 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 24 August 1947.

I am sorry that due to my preoccupations I could not reply to it earlier. We must have Shanmukham Chetty returned from Madras in the vacancy caused by the resignation of Rajaji. Please take necessary action at once.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy
Madras

Madras
3 September 1947

Dear Sardarji,

Consequent on my talk with you in the Constituent Assembly on 30 August, I beg to remind you about the desirability of issuing a directive to our party with regard to the successor to Shri Rajagopalachari in the Constituent Assembly. Our party is meeting on the 13th and the Assembly on the 15th. No date has yet been fixed by the Speaker for the election but it is expected to be in the first week of our session.

We are all deeply concerned about Gandhiji's fast in Calcutta. We pray that he will give up his fast very soon.

Some Punjabi refugees have arrived in Madras and all arrangements are complete to receive them and lodge them comfortably. Our Government have earmarked a lakh of rupees towards the refugee fund and we are also taking steps to convene a Sheriff's public meeting to constitute a non-official committee.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. Gopala Reddi¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
5 September 1947

My dear Gopala Reddi,

Thank you for your letter of 3 September 1947. I have already sent instructions to your Prime Minister about the successor to Rajaji. I am sending herewith a copy of the letter for ready reference.

2. Thank God Gandhiji's fast is over and he has been spared for us.

3. I am glad you are taking action to organise relief for the Punjab refugees.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. B. Gopala Reddi
Minister for Finance
Madras

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Camp New Delhi
28 August 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Mr. Shahabuddin, a member of the Indian Civil Service and permanent judge of the Madras High Court, chose a transfer to Pakistan when the option was given to the Secretary of State's Services to choose service either in the Dominion of India or

¹ Member, AICC since 1931; Minister, Madras Government, 1937-39; Minister for Finance, 1947; President, Andhra PCC, 1953; Chief Minister, Andhra Pradesh, 1955-56; Minister, Central Government, 1958-63; Deputy leader of Congress Parliamentary Party, 1965-67; Governor of UP, 1967-72

Pakistan. He was born in Andhra district and normally had no occasion to choose to go to Pakistan as he did then. He did not indicate any second preference in the matter. He was accordingly ordered to be released from the services of the Madras Government. At that time he took a few days' leave. Now, I see from the newspapers that he has rejoined the High Court on the expiry of leave and sat on the Bench. There was no reference to our Government and it is ununderstandable how the Chief Justice admitted him. I am unable to understand how he could be allowed to do so. Having chosen to serve the Dominion of Pakistan he should not be allowed to continue in our service at his own option again and without our consent. We intend taking a strong line in the matter and refuse to pay his salary even. He should be asked to go to Pakistan and should on no account be allowed to come back to our service. I believe the constitutional position is that he cannot exercise his option twice over and the Governor-General should not have any objection to our decision not to allow him in our service in the circumstances mentioned above. I request you that you will please take up the matter and support us to the fullest extent and do the needful.

Thanking you,

Yours sincerely,
O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
28 August 1947

My dear Premier,

Thank you for your letter of 28 August 1947 regarding Mr. Shahabuddin.

Except in the High Courts of Calcutta and Lahore, the judges of the High Court had no option of serving in India or Pakistan. There could, therefore, be no compulsion on Pakistan to have Mr. Shahabuddin. If, therefore, he elected for Pakistan and could not be absorbed there, he had to be retained in India.

We cannot, therefore, dispense with his services in the manner you have suggested nor as [a] judge of the High Court is he covered by the announcement of 30 April 1947. In the case

of High Court judges we have accepted the principle that if they wish to retire they will get only proportionate pension, unless their status and conditions are so changed as to affect their independence.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy
Camp New Delhi

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Madras
18 September 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I am sending herewith a copy of the Bill for the abolition of zamindaris. You said to me in Delhi that when the matter is ripe I could get into touch with you and send you the copy of the Bill.

The Madras Cabinet have decided to introduce this Bill though the measure has been drafted in a hurry and has not had the scrutiny of the Legal Department section by section. But the Revenue Minister thought that attention would be paid to the drafting part of it when the Bill is introduced and goes before a Select Committee. My feeling is that he is of the view that this must be done quickly because Mr. Prakasam is carrying on propaganda with regard to the abolition of zamindaris and also the Andhra Provincial Conference passed a resolution that no compensation need even be paid.

As I am myself an estate holder and am concerned in this matter, I feel it most delicate to say anything, but the whole matter has been discussed in a statement by Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, a cutting of which I enclose for your kind information. I want your advice on this matter because I feel there is no alternative for me but to resign if my colleague persists in hurrying through this legislation without the consideration of the measure by the High Command.

This is a private letter to you for your kind advice in this matter as to what course I should adopt. I shall be grateful if you can privately write to the Prime Minister to see that this reform is not hurried through. I feel the Bill as it stands today will lead to a crop of litigation, as Sir Alladi points out "compensation" has been interpreted by courts in Australia and in the USA as meaning "market value" of the property to be taken over.

I was loath to trouble you especially when you have such problems to face in Delhi and the Punjab, but the matter is so urgent that I cannot help doing this. I shall be grateful to know as to what I should do and whether you have written to our Prime Minister on this matter.

I trust Manibenji and you are well in spite of the strenuous time you are having in Delhi.

With pranams,

Yours affectionately,
P. Subbarayan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACTS

In its application to inams the Madras Estates (Repeal of the Permanent Settlement and Conversion into Ryotwari) Bill, prepared by the Ministry, is "an expropriatory measure of a far-reaching character, with an illusory compensation." This is the opinion expressed by [Sir] Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, a former Advocate-General of Madras and member of the Constituent Assembly of India. He says: The Bill ignores the statutory and the customary rent which the inamdar is at present entitled to, and receives.

Whether the deprivation of the kudivaram right by the Act of 1936 is just or unjust, there is no justice [in] equally reducing what was considered to be the lawful melvaram payable or deliverable to the inamdars, to the level of ryotwari rents and making the latter, or more precisely half of it, the basis for calculating compensation.

The Bill does not make any differentiation in regard to the source of title or acquisition. The result is that the Bill under consideration is an expropriatory measure of a far-reaching character, with an illusory compensation.

In [his] view it is not competent for the legislature to ignore the actual income accruing to a person from the property acquired and to assess the same on a conjectural and hypothetical basis.

The provisions in the Bill constituting the Government the final arbiter in regard to the determination of the amount of compensation and the manner and method of paying it are a direct violation of the principle underlying Section 299 of the Government of India Act.

The Mail

17 September 1947

Madras
22 September 1947

My dear Sardarji,

In continuation of my letter wherein I sent a cutting from the Madras Mail of the letter of Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar with regard to the Zamindari Abolition Bill about to be introduced in our Assembly, I am herewith sending a Note on authorities with regard to the question of compensation which I have got done in consultation with Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar. You will see it is interesting reading and I would like you very much to consider the question as raised in this Note. As I said in my last letter, I shall be grateful for your advice in this matter. It has caused a great deal of heart-burning among the classes who are now prepared to support the Congress.

I have submitted this also to the Prime Minister but I shall be grateful if you also write to him as to the course to be taken in regard to this legislation. All that I want is that we should not be in such a hurry, especially when it concerns the question of expropriation of property rights. It really requires much greater care than has been bestowed upon it and I feel the policy should be one for all India and not isolated for every province as seems to be the case now.

As I told you in my last letter, I am loath to disturb you especially at this juncture when you have so much trouble up North. But as I said the matter is so important and urgent that I feel as a younger brother I can trouble you on this matter and take your advice.

There is a resolution proposed in our Legislative Council with regard to the draft Constitution which they feel ought to be considered by both Houses of the Legislature before it is finally taken up for consideration in the Constituent Assembly. That seems to be the feeling in most of the Members of the Upper House. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar told me before he left that it would be best to oppose this resolution but our Cabinet finds it hard to deny this right to the legislators. I shall be glad of your advice in this matter. I did intend to move in the Assembly for having the draft provincial constitution taken into consideration,

but as the rule with regard to consideration by the Assemblies of the provinces had been abrogated in the Constituent Assembly, I withdrew the notice I had given at the time. However I would like to have your final advice in this matter.

I trust Manibenji and you are well in spite of the strenuous time you have been having in Delhi.

With pranams and affectionate regards,

Yours,
P. Subbarayan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

NOTE ON THE QUESTION OF COMPENSATION IN THE ZAMINDARI ABOLITION BILL SENT TO SARDAR PATEL BY DR. P. SUBBARAYAN

A comparison of section 299(i) of the Government of India Act, of the fifth Amendment in the United States Constitution and Section 51 Clause 31 of the Australian Constitution and what is implied in Section 51, will point to the conclusion that there is substantially no difference between the right of a party whose property is expropriated or taken over by the State under the American and Australian constitutions and that of a person whose property is taken over by the Government under Section 299 of the Government of India Act read with the lists. There is no difference in effect and in principle between the import of the expression "compensation" in Section 299 of the Government of India Act, "just compensation" in the fifth Amendment to the American Constitution, and "just terms" in Section 51 of the Australian Constitution. In a case reported in 27 C.W.N. 210 at p. 216 the import of the expression "compensation" is explained in the following terms:

"The term compensation, as pointed out in the Oxford Dictionary, signifies that which is given in recompense, an equivalent, rendered. . . . The term compensation etymologically suggests the image of balancing one thing against another; its primary signification is equivalence, and the secondary and more common meaning is something given or obtained as an equivalent. The derivative meaning was familiar to the Roman jurists and reappears in the modern codes founded on the Civil Law (Sohm, Institutes of Roman Law, 3rd Ed. pp. 458-463)."

Nor can it be suggested that when, in the alleged interests of the tenantry of this province and with a view to promote the interests of agriculture, the landholder, be he a zamindar or an inamdar, is divested of his property

and the same is vested in the Government, the property is not taken over for public purposes within the meaning of Section 299 of the Government of India Act. A Government can only function for public purposes and not for any private purposes, and the preamble itself states what the public purpose is.

The expression compensation and just compensation has been the subject of judicial decisions both in Australia and in America. In 66 C.L.R. 77 the question at issue was whether the Government can fix its own price in respect of apples taken over by the Government during the time of the war and make the price so fixed conclusive and binding upon the parties. . . .

Dealing with the second point, Latham C. J. observes on p. 102 that compensation means adequate compensation, an amount which really is compensation. On p. 105 Rich J. says that the acquisition is in the nature of a compulsory statutory sale and the expropriated party is in the position of a vendor making an agreement for sale on the terms of receiving the value of the article appropriated. On p. 106 it is observed that the power to expropriate is limited by a qualification or inhibition which it has no power to alter. A similar view is taken in several other Australian cases—vide, for instance, 67 C.L.R. 314.

The United States Supreme Court has also consistently taken the same view—vide 290 US at pp. 16 & 17 —78 Law. Ed. at pp. 144, 148 US at p. 327, 78 Law. Edn. 1236–292 US 246. They have also taken the view that from the date the property is taken over in addition to the value of the property, the dispossessed person is entitled to interest as a substitute for the income lost. Even under Section 299, the compensation will have to be assessed with reference to the value of the property on the date of the acquisition.

In the light of the American and the Australian cases, it would be clear that it is the value of the property as at the time when the property is taken over by the Government that must be the determining criterion for purposes of assessing compensation. Even if there is any warrant for lowering the market value to any extent, the compensation must have distinct reference to the value of the properties as on the date of the taking. It cannot be possibly assessed with reference to any conjectural or hypothetical basis resting on any procedure adopted in regard to assessment at the time of the Inam or Permanent Settlement without any reference to the actual rental which the zamindar or inamdar is, as a fact, lawfully realising from the ryots under the existing law of the land.

P. Subbarayan

New Delhi
2 October 1947

My dear Subbarayan,

Many thanks for your letters. I fully realise how you feel on the question of the Zamindari Bill, but you know that the Parliamentary Board has been reconstituted and Acharya Kripalani is now the chairman. I suggest, therefore, that you write to Acharya Kripalani on this subject pointing out to him how this legislation is being rushed through and how it is desirable that before any further action is taken it is scrutinised with a view to examining whether it is in conformity with Congress policy. At the same time please send a copy of your letter to me.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan
Madras

NOTE TO THE WORKING COMMITTEE AND PARLIAMENTARY BOARD
ON THE ZAMINDARI ABOLITION BILL

Sirs,

We are zamindars in Madras Presidency holding permanently settled estates. We do not in any way wish to obstruct the abolition of the zamindari [system], as contemplated in the election manifesto of the Congress, on the basis of equitable compensation being paid.

In this connection we wish to invite the attention of the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board to what is happening in Madras. The Madras Government now propose to fix rents in proprietary estates according to the rate that prevailed in 1802, when the permanent settlement was introduced for the first time. We learn that a Bill for this purpose is to be published in the gazette shortly with a view to introducing it in the January session of the Assembly.

This is a process which involves considerable research into ancient records, and even so the results are bound to be of a highly controversial

character, leading to interminable litigation. Besides, such a reversion to the position of 150 years ago would create confusion between payment in kind which was in vogue then and payment in cash which is the practice today. The computation of values is a complicating factor, since apart from the variation in prices, the value of the rupee has undergone serious changes, particularly in these days of inflation.

There is another complication that threatens to ensue from such a reversion, involving a fundamental change in the current system of rent collection. This will place an excuse in the hands of the tenantry who are only too ready to grasp any change of conditions to withhold payment of rents, under the influence of the anti-social elements, such as the Communists.

We therefore earnestly request the Working Committee to call for the proposals of the Madras Government in this behalf and advise them to stop the publication of the proposed Bill, till substantial proposals for the abolition of the zamindari system are prepared and placed before the Working Committee and the Parliamentary Board.

Yours sincerely,
Ranga Rao
Rajah of Bobbili

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Madras
7 October 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I sent you the following telegram by code today:

"SIR CREW TO MAN TRAINS ON RAILWAYS IN DISTURBED AREAS STARTING 11TH GRAND TRUNK EXPRESS AFRAID OF TROUBLE BETWEEN MUTTRA [Mathura] AND DELHI. REQUEST KINDLY ARRANGE ESCORT OR OTHER PROTECTION FOR THEM FROM MUTTRA. AM INFORMING PANDIT JAWAHARLAL."

As the SIR crew who are leaving for Delhi to man the trains in disturbed areas represented to me that they feared some attack on them and as they had volunteered for this work on Pandit Jawaharlal's appeal, I thought they deserved this protection. As it was a matter in which Jawaharlalji took particular interest, I thought it best also to send him a copy of the telegram to you. I trust you will not misunderstand my having taken this action as I felt that was only their due.

I have not as yet heard from you with regard to the resolution of Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar which is still under discussion

in regard to the draft constitution being sent to the various provincial Assemblies and Councils for their consideration before it is finally taken up by the Constituent Assembly. The Government have not as yet taken any decision as it will depend on the advice you may give us. I shall be grateful for an early reply.

With my best regards to you and Manibenji,

Yours affectionately,
P. Subbarayan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
10 October 1947

My dear Subbarayan,

Thank you for your letter of 7 October 1947. I am sending your message to Dr. Matthai who is in charge of railways and who will have to arrange for protection.

As regards the resolution about sending the draft constitution to provincial Assemblies and Councils for their consideration before it is taken up finally by the Constituent Assembly, my advice would be for your Government to say that the Constituent Assembly is a sovereign body and as such the final decision must rest in them. The Constituent Assembly has at present approved the principles of the Constitution. The details are not material. If the House so desires it could take those principles into consideration and convey whatever suggestions it has to make to the Constituent Assembly which will doubtless consider them before the Constitution is finalised. It may be pointed out that in the Constituent Assembly duly elected representatives of the Madras Legislature have already taken part and the principles of the Constitution have secured almost unanimous support. Unless, therefore, there are any very important views to be placed for the consideration of the Constituent Assembly, it would be profitless for the Legislature in Madras, or for that matter any other province, to make any representation to the Constituent Assembly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan
Madras

New Delhi
19 November 1947

My dear Premier,

I heard on the radio and later saw in the newspapers that you have taken over the Home portfolio from Subbarayan. I am not aware of the reasons which prompted you to do so. You are, of course, entitled to redistribute portfolios, but before you take any such action, propriety as well as courtesy to your colleague demand that you should take him into confidence as to the reasons for this proposed step. An omission to do so naturally puts your colleague in a difficult position. The outside public is also inclined to regard this as reflection on your colleague's competence to discharge his duties properly.

2. Subbarayan has seen me since and is considerably distressed on this account. He tells me that before he left you gave him no indication that this change was coming and that he was not at all apprised of the reasons for this change. It would have been in the interests of everybody concerned that this should have been done.

3. I would, therefore, be glad if you would kindly let me know the reasons for your taking over the Home portfolio.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Shri O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy
Madras

Madras
29 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Your letter dated 19 November 1947 asking me to state why I took over the Police portfolio from Dr. Subbarayan without previously consulting him.

As I have already represented to you during my interview with you at Delhi on 21 October 1947 and in my subsequent

letters, the Hyderabad situation has for some time past been causing this Government grave anxiety. In the seven border districts of this province touching Hyderabad there is a general scare, particularly among the people living in the villages near the long border line of about 800 miles. There is a widespread belief that the Nizam is strengthening his military personnel and procuring arms and ammunition on a large scale. His force is estimated at 50,000 fully trained men, 50,000 men under training in various camps, and nearly one lakh of irregulars. Some of the Muslim goondas are reported to be committing all kinds of atrocities on the Hindu population in the State, apparently with the connivance of the local police. They set fire to many Hindu houses, robbed them of their property, and even molested their women. My information is that as many as 650 houses have been thus burnt, and that property looted is about Rs. 70,00,000. Naturally many Hindus in the State being afraid of violence at the hands of the goondas have fled into this province with what little they could carry with them. Refugees began to pour in large numbers into the border districts, with the result that refugee camps have had to be opened in these places. There is also widespread apprehension in the villages bordering Hyderabad that the Nizam has stationed military detachments in some of the villages on the border, and that preparations are being made by him for an invasion. The people of the villages near the border were naturally panic-stricken and it became imperatively necessary to take immediate measures not only to instil confidence into the people but also to be prepared for any eventualities. Thus the need for taking adequate measures of internal security by raising (a) Special Armed Police and (b) Home Guards became so urgent that swift measures had to be taken without losing any time. In this context, the portfolio of Police has, doubtless, acquired an added importance. I therefore considered it not only appropriate, but even essential, that I should, as the Premier of the province, assume direct responsibility for the administration of this all-important subject and not leave it in the hands of Dr. Subbarayan, who, I am sorry to say, has not risen equal to the occasion.

It is no pleasant task for me to have to criticise my colleague or to point out his many acts of omission and commission which led me to the irresistible conclusion that it was no longer safe to leave this portfolio in his hands. But as you have asked me to do so, I am reluctantly compelled to mention below a few of them. I enclose a list of cases (Appendix) in which Dr. Subbarayan has rather improperly restored certain police officers

dismissed from service. I invite your special attention to cases 7, 8 and 9 in this list on which detailed notes are appended. I have no doubt that on a perusal of these notes you will agree with me that in passing these orders restoring the dismissed men to service, in the teeth of opposition from the Inspector General of Police, Dr. Subbarayan was only yielding to pressure brought to bear on him by interested parties, and was not minding the interests of discipline in the police force. I may mention here one other instance in which he acted with grave impropriety in ordering, without legal authority, the stay of criminal proceedings pending before the fourth Presidency Magistrate, Madras, against an advocate (Shri T. R. Venkatavarada Iyengar) for criminal breach of trust, on account of which the Government came in for severe criticism at the hands of the High Court. . . . A perusal of the facts in it will show clearly that Dr. Subbarayan allowed himself to be swayed by extraneous influences.

Despite the gravity of the present situation he did not take energetic or effective steps for raising Special Armed Police units or Home Guards. Even as early as 16 April 1947 I ordered that the subject of Home Guards should be placed before the meeting of the Council of Ministers. He took nearly a month to place it before an informal meeting of the Council of Ministers on 17 May 1947, when it was decided that Home Guards should be raised. But no energetic steps were taken to implement this decision. It was allowed to take a leisurely course. After some examination of the subject, the Cabinet finally decided on 21 September 1947 that Home Guards should be raised. Even after this decision, active steps were not taken for forming Home Guards. The Hon'ble Minister took over two months to have the necessary Bill prepared.

Equally dilatory was his attitude in regard to the raising of the Special Armed Police units, though I had ordered long ago that immediate steps should be taken for recruiting and training these units.

Out of a force of about 31,000 strong in the taluk police more than 20,000 are now unarmed and yet the Home Minister has taken no steps for providing them with arms.

The police force in some of the border districts, particularly Kurnool and Bellary, was largely Muslim in composition. Nearly 60 per cent or more of the constabulary, including the head constables, and even of the sub-inspectors consisted of Muslims. It was obviously undesirable to keep Muslim officers in charge of

police stations near the border line. I had therefore instructed Dr. Subbarayan and also the Inspector-General of Police and the Home Secretary on more than one occasion and also at a conference of all of them convened by me to take steps to transfer the Muslim officers from this area as a precautionary measure. But he was slow to act and did not take quick or effective action. I had to intervene and call for particulars of the exact composition of the police force etc. in these districts and give personal instructions to the concerned officers.

I need scarcely add that, in order to restore confidence among the panic-stricken people of the districts on the Hyderabad border, Dr. Subbarayan, as the Home Minister, should have toured the area, ascertained the actual conditions prevailing there and endeavoured in every possible way to allay panic. But he did not care to visit even one of these districts. By about the beginning of November 1947 refugees began to pour into these districts from Hyderabad in such large numbers, and the situation became so grave that an immediate visit by a Minister was indicated, if only to allay panic. I therefore undertook a rapid tour of the affected districts before coming to Delhi for the conference of provincial Premiers and Home Ministers held on 22 November 1947, not only to instil courage and confidence among the people but also to acquaint myself first hand with the actual conditions prevailing there. At an informal meeting of the Council of Ministers held here on 8 November 1947 it was resolved that in matters relating to defence and internal security the Premier be given full powers to take such measures as he may consider necessary. I have accordingly taken over the Police portfolio owing to the emergency that has arisen, and just before I started on this tour of the affected districts. As Dr. Subbarayan was then away at Delhi, I could not hold prior consultation with him and so I wrote to him about my decision which had to be taken rather urgently for the above reasons.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
O. P. Ramaswamy Reddy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

LETTER FROM DR. SUBBARAYAN TO MR. O. P. RAMASWAMI REDDY

Fort St. George
Madras

2 December 1947

It was entirely from consideration of public interest that I responded to Mr. Bhakthavathsalam's earnest request to us at the Cabinet meeting on the 28th evening to defer our final decision till 4 p.m. on Sunday 30 November. I had absolutely no doubt as to what my duty was in the situation in which you had placed me. There are certain principles which I strongly hold and which govern me in my public life and I cannot surrender them. I was surprised on Sunday night when at the meeting of Ministers you stated that you had decided to return the Police portfolio to me because I "was angry." As I explained at that meeting it was not a question of the mere return of the Police portfolio to me or as to who was to hold it. That no doubt was of primary importance at the moment but there were other issues involved which I clearly explained in order to avoid the possibility of any misunderstandings and differences again arising between us in the future. A Ministry can function properly and do its best for the people only if there is real unity and mutual confidence between the Premier and his colleagues and their actions can stand scrutiny by the public. I hope therefore that you will not unduly and without my knowledge interfere in the departments which are in my charge and will not take away from me any of them without my consent. I also trust that the Premier will not, without my knowledge, summon officials of my departments and discuss with them matters relating to their official duties. I hold that if a Premier or any Minister discusses privately with officials matters concerned with departments in charge of another colleague, there will be grave deterioration in the discipline, efficiency and standard of duty, honour and loyalty in the services and administration will greatly suffer. No Ministry can function honourably unless these principles of democratic government are strictly adhered to. I had clearly stated them at the meeting on Sunday night when you announced your decision to return the Police portfolio to me and I firmly hope that the affairs of the Ministry will in future be conducted accordingly.

New Delhi
12 December 1947

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 29 November 1947.

I am glad that you have informed me in detail of the reasons which prompted you to undertake the Home portfolio yourself. I agree with you that the interference in a pending case was improper and I am glad you took such a serious view of it. I hope such instances will not recur, as they merely bring the administration into disrepute. We should scrupulously safeguard the independence and integrity of the judiciary, and nothing should be done to give the impression that the judiciary is being subjected to ministerial interference. I also agree with you that all is not well with the appointments which you have quoted.

I shall not say more about it, because I notice that you have now restored the Home portfolio to Dr. Subbarayan. I shall only say that you have sufficiently vindicated the view which you took of the various matters to which you refer and I hope that in future you will not have any occasion to feel dissatisfied about things.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. O. P. Ramaswami Reddy
Madras

Madras
2 December 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I must thank you for the patience with which you heard my case and afterwards talked to the Premier of Madras. I know you felt at the time that it had no effect but after he came here, after I firmly pointed out to him that it was very much against my self-respect to remain in the Ministry considering what had happened, he agreed to retransfer the portfolio and orders have

now been issued to that effect. I explained my point of view about Cabinet Government at the informal meeting of Ministers held to consider this position on Sunday, 30 November. As I have informed you of all the facts, I feel that you should see a copy of the letter which I have written to the Premier after that meeting. I know how busy you are, but at the same time I feel you would not think it a nuisance if I write to you about the developments that have taken place since I saw you.

I must congratulate you on the ending of the Hyderabad affair by a standstill agreement for one year which will give you time enough to think about the accession of Hyderabad to the Indian Union which, I am sure, is bound to come under your able stewardship. From what I gather here, in spite of the standstill agreement, people in our border areas seem to be still scared and nervous at what might happen. For your private information I can tell you the Premier himself is still nervous because when I mentioned that the standstill agreement has come and so he need not be apprehensive of steps that have to be taken with regard to border areas, he said that still the Nizam might do anything. I have been trying, even before the agreement came, to do nothing which will in any way impair the delicate negotiations that were taking place. But you know the reason he mentioned for taking over the portfolio was that he wanted to take quick decisions because of the trouble on the borders of Hyderabad State. I feel it would be in the interests of everyone if you were to write and tell him that he need not be nervous or apprehensive of this matter as, with the standstill agreement having gone through, you have got this matter well in hand. Of course, it is not for me to tell you what should be done as I know very well that you are aware of the matters, but I trust you will forgive me for mentioning this. I, for my part, will look to you for guidance in dealing with the border situation.

My wife and I send our affectionate greetings to Manibenji and you.

With pranams,

Yours affectionately,
P. Subbarayan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
12 December 1947

My dear Dr. Subbarayan,

Thank you for your letter of 2 December 1947.

After you spoke to me, I wrote to the Prime Minister of Madras for the reasons which prompted him in taking this unusual step, and I have now had detailed reasons.

I am somewhat distressed to find that some of your actions would not bear scrutiny. I am particularly perturbed at the manner in which a pending case was interfered with and the many re-appointments of dismissed police officers which you have made against the recommendation of the Inspector-General of Police. I am sure you will appreciate that in the Police Department, it is necessary to have men above board. Further, I need hardly emphasise the necessity of maintaining discipline in the police force. If the IGP's recommendations are turned down in this manner, it is obvious that discipline cannot be maintained. Unless we are prepared to give our confidence to the head of the police and trust in his judgment, it is impossible for us to maintain a police administration of a high order.

I also feel that the police administration requires considerable tightening up, particularly in view of the explosive possibilities of the internal situation in Hyderabad and the cry for Moplahstan. I hope you will pursue this with vigour and see that the police administration does not lag behind the requirements.

I shall not say more except that I would like to express the hope that the relations between you and the Prime Minister would continue to be cordial and that you would give no cause for him to feel in any way dissatisfied.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. P. Subbarayan
Madras

CHAPTER VII
NWFP—GOVERNOR'S ROLE

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New Delhi
9 January 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

I am sorry, due to indisposition, I will not be able to attend tomorrow's conference, but I am instructing my Joint Secretary, Williams, to do so. He will communicate my views to the conference. As desired by you, I am sending a copy to you and Dr. Khan Sahib.¹ In view of the fact that Williams would be communicating my views officially to the conference, I am not sending a copy to Weightman².

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

SARDAR PATEL'S VIEWS ON ADMINISTRATION OF THE NWFP AND
THE TRIBAL AGENCIES AND BRITISH BALUCHISTAN

The conference has been convened to consider the ways and means of staffing the NWFP and the Tribal Agencies and British Baluchistan. The problem is both long-term and short-term. From the long-term point of view we have to evolve Services which would replace the present Indian Political Service. From the short-term point of view, the question is of replacing officers of the Indian Political Service who might retire on the termination of the Secretary of State's control. That the latter problem would be of serious dimensions is clear from Mr. Weightman's note which says that "there will be few officers of the Indian Political Service who will stay when once a way is open for them to go."

¹ Elder brother of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan; nationalist Muslim leader; Premier of NWFP before and after Independence; dismissed by Jinnah after partition; later Chief Minister of West Pakistan; assassinated at Lahore

² Hugh Weightman: Revenue Commissioner, Baluchistan, 1944-45; Secretary, External Affairs Dept, 1946-47

2. From the long-term point of view, the questions for decision would be:

(a) What steps should be taken to provide officers to administer the NWFP and the Tribal Areas on the liquidation of the Indian Political Service?

The alternatives which suggest themselves are:

- i. a provincial service for the NWFP Settled Districts and Agencies and a separate provincial service for Baluchistan; and
- ii. a joint cadre for the NWFP and Baluchistan.

(b) In either case, should the cadre or cadres form part of the All-India Administrative Service or should it [not] or they remain as purely provincial cadres?

(c) Is it necessary to take any special measures to make service in this area attractive and in order to provide for men with first-hand Frontier experience, should any special steps be taken to ensure recruitment of persons domiciled in these areas in case the service is to form a part of the All-India Administrative Service, which it has been agreed in consultation with a majority of other provinces to establish?

3. Mr. Weightman's note concludes on a rather gloomy strain and throughout an attempt has been made to point out difficulties without suggesting a solution. This was also probably the reaction of the Frontier Governor who asked for more definite material but was told that it was for the conference itself to find a solution to the difficulties with which the problem bristles. It seems that experience and knowledge of Pathan psychology have been over-emphasised and a lesser weight attaches to the standard of ability and conduct required in the officers of the service which is to take the place of the present administrative machinery. Experience and knowledge of Pathan psychology are very desirable, but it would be wrong to assume that they are absolutely indispensable particularly when we have apparently sufficient local material to assist the superior officers in the discharge of their responsibilities. Such experience and knowledge are not necessarily the monopoly of a particular class of the service and in any case absence of such experience and knowledge cannot in present circumstances or at the present stage of constitutional development be held to justify the retention of any large proportion of the British element in the service. From the political aspect there is a case for the removal of the British element as soon as possible rather as late as practicable. We have, therefore, to surmount the difficulties with which the problem is reported to bristle and reach a solution which, while ensuring adequate efficiency, would be no more than reasonably expensive.

4. From the purely service point of view, it appears that there is already a provincial civil service of some standing which might have been distrusted in the past—it is presumably this distrust which was responsible for the wreckage

of the plan for a joint cadre suggested in 1939—but which is apparently trusted by the present Government since the present Chief Minister recommended only in April last year that the provincial civil service should furnish 50 per cent. of the vacancies in the joint cadre then envisaged. From the point of view of the strength of the cadre, the combination of the NWFP, British Baluchistan and the Tribal Agencies should provide a service almost equal in size to CP and Berar and nearly double that of Assam. It would probably be larger than that of Sind under the new dispensation. The cadre difficulty need not therefore stand in our way. The deficiency of superior posts can be made up by linking with the Centre, in respect of the All-India Administrative Service, thereby ensuring a sufficient number of Central posts, for the Frontier cadre and by having some superior posts of the selection grade or better paid superior posts such as Secretaries to Government. (In Bombay it is for this reason that all posts of Secretaries to Government carry a salary of Rs. 3,000.) In these circumstances, the answer to questions (a) and (b) should be in favour of a joint cadre for the NWFP and Baluchistan and such a cadre should form part of the All-India Administrative Service which is going to be formed. This would incidentally place at the disposal of the provincial Government the services of men of ability from outside the province and might therefore help to raise the tone of the administration of the province itself.

5. In matters of control over service, the position would be the same as in respect of other provinces, namely, postings, transfers, etc. could be entirely within the discretion of the provincial Government; powers of control would also largely be placed in them, the Central Government intervening only in cases of removal or dismissal or infliction of any pecuniary loss of a sufficiently substantial nature so as to induce an officer to prefer removal or dismissal from service to meeting such loss. This should satisfy the Chief Minister who was insistent when the question was dealt with by him in April last, that postings, transfers from the joint cadre, etc. should be with the approval of the provincial Government. Of course, the Centre whenever it needs the services of men of this cadre would obtain them in consultation with the provincial Government.

6. The previous calculations and those made by Mr. Rao would show that, having regard to the number of superior posts, there would be a leeway to be made up in the inferior posts. There is no reason whatsoever why this leeway should not be made up as in other provinces by the provincial Civil Service. Whatever reasons there may have been to distrust such a service in the past should not deter us at present and if this view is accepted the previous objections to a joint cadre on the ground that there are difficulties in producing a balanced cadre need no longer be given any weight.

7. There is no doubt that in order to attract highly qualified material to man the services in the Frontier, we should have to offer specially attractive

terms. It has already been suggested that there should be a sufficient number of selection or better paid posts in the higher spheres of the administration. In addition, there should be special pays attached to as many posts as possible and this could be justified not only because of the special circumstances of service in the province but also on the all-India importance of maintaining high level of efficiency in the administration of that province. We shall also have to be liberal in giving allowances for proficiency in special directions which might be of particular advantage to officers serving in these areas. And lastly, in order to ensure that men with the necessary background of Frontier psychology and experience man the services, we might give preferential treatment in recruitment to the All-India Administrative Service to persons domiciled in these areas so that they can be posted to their own province. At the Premiers' conference, some provinces made this suggestion in regard to their part of the All-India Administrative Service, but it was turned down on the ground that this would detract from recruitment on the basis of merit alone. But the departure from that principle in the case of the NWFP and Baluchistan, etc., could be justified on the ground of expediency.

8. As regards the short-term measures, the total requirements have not been given, and therefore no definite plans can be suggested. But there are two or three possible sources of recruitment which should provide sufficient personnel to replace officers who would terminate their services, namely:

(a) seconding of British officers who would be retained by this Indian Government for its defence needs and of Indian officers from the Army;

(b) recruitment from among Emergency Commissioned officers over 30 years of age who would not be admitted into alternative civil employment or given permanent commissions. Having regard to the numbers involved there should be sufficient scope for obtaining men both from the Frontier and from other provinces who would pass the requisite standard of ability, initiative and other qualification;

(c) promotion from the Provincial Civil Service;

(d) allotment to the Frontier of some of the candidates, particularly from "other minorities" out of those selected for the ICS and IP. This is, of course, subject to the condition that the Frontier Province would accept the All-India Administrative Service arrangements, about which a letter has already issued to that province.

9. To sum up, therefore, the problem could be met by having a joint cadre of the NWFP, Baluchistan and the Tribal Agencies and making this cadre form part of the All-India Administrative Service, the inferior posts being provided, as in other provinces, by the Provincial Civil Service. A sufficient number of better paid superior posts should be provided by the usual deputation arrangement with the Central Government, creation of certain posts of selection grade and fixing better ex-time-scale remuneration for certain higher

posts. In addition, to attract men of ability both from these areas and other provinces as many posts as possible should carry special pays, and special allowances should be given for proficiency in subjects which would be of particular use to officers. In making recruitment to the All-India Administrative Service, persons domiciled in these areas may be given preference in respect of some percentage of the posts that would be annually recruited for these areas. As regards the short-term plans, to provide replacements for such British element of the Indian Political Service as would retire, the following sources should be tapped:

- (a) British and Indian officers of the Army;
- (b) Emergency Commissioned officers over 30 years of age who would not be taken for permanent commissions or absorbed in alternative civil employments.
- (c) Promotions from the Provincial Civil Service;
- (d) Allotment of some candidates from "other minorities" who have been selected for the ICS and IP.

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New Delhi
27 January 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I understand that a case has been drawn up about the riot which took place in the Mach Jail (Baluchistan). The real responsibility for this was that of the Inspector General of Prisons. Influences are at work which make it probable that the local courts will not be able to maintain their impartiality. Non-residents may therefore be convicted even without justification. The accused apprehend that they will not receive justice from the local court. They have therefore appealed to the local Government that the cases be transferred to some other province. I am forwarding to you a copy of the original application. I hope you will look into the matter and, if there is no bar in law, order that the case may be transferred to some court in the Punjab.

Yours sincerely,
A. K. Azad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
7 February 1947

My dear Maulana Sahib,

Please refer to your letter dated 27 January 1947 regarding riot in the Mach Jail in Baluchistan. The matter concerns the External Affairs Department, and I am sending a copy of your letter with its enclosures to Jawaharlal.

Yours sincerely,
V. J. Patel

The Hon'ble Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Member of Education
New Delhi

New Delhi
26 April 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I would invite your attention to the Report of the Director of Intelligence (No. 108 Summary of Communal Incidents for 25 April 1947), a copy of which your office must have received from the Director of Intelligence. It appears that the Muslim League plan a demonstration on the day of your arrival in Peshawar, and that the reaction to the Government's announcement regarding the release of political prisoners has been unfavourable.

2. This is further confirmed by the report of the Deputy Director, Intelligence, Peshawar, dated 24 April 1947, which has also been sent by the DIB to your office and which contains the news that the Pir of Manki is reported to have informed a crowd of 500/600 which had collected outside the police lines that the political prisoners were not going to agree to the decision taken by the Government and that the civil disobedience campaign should continue with the same vigour.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE I

SECRET

HQ INDIA COMMAND (DIRECTORATE OF INTELLIGENCE)

NO. 108 SUMMARY OF COMMUNAL INCIDENTS FOR 25 APRIL 1947
(Up to 0900 hrs. 25 April 1947)

COMMUNAL DISTURBANCES

SITUATION IN NWFP

According to reports from HQ Northern Command and Peshawar Area dated 24 April 1947, there has been increased Muslim League activity in Peshawar and Abbottabad. The situation in the rest of the province is quieter. The following was reported:

(a) Peshawar:

The civil intelligence sources in Peshawar in a report dated 24 April 1947 state that on the occasion of the celebration of Martyrs' Day a crowd of over 40,000 persons assembled. The report adds that the Muslim League plan a demonstration on the day of the arrival of the Viceroy.

(b) Abbottabad:

The reaction to the Government's announcement regarding the release of political prisoners has been unfavourable. The Muslim League's civil disobedience has intensified and processions have increased in number. Section 144 has been imposed for a further fortnight from 22 April. Several women climbed the wall of Haripur Jail and planted the Muslim League flag. There have been three cases of attempted arson in Abbottabad. One company [4 Dogras] stood to in unit lines from 0800 hrs. 23 April at 15 mins. notice.

(c) Dera Ismail Khan:

It is now confirmed that casualties, as a result of the Hindu refugees being ambushed at Parola (19 miles South of DIK), where one constable and eight Hindus [were] killed and one constable and eighteen Hindus [were] wounded. It is believed that a gang of Mahsuds was responsible. Reports are also being received that hostile gangs are moving in the direction of Bannu, possibly as a result of the directions of the Muslim League jirga held at Mirali on 20 April.

2. SITUATION IN THE PUNJAB

According to reports from HQ Northern Command and 7 Div. dated 24 April 1947, the general situation in the province continues to be quiet. Tension is reported in Jhang civil district. Patrolling in affected areas continues. The following minor incidents were reported:

Rawalpindi:

71 refugees were evacuated from Kahuta (16 miles east of Rawalpindi) to Wah. The villages of Machhia (28 miles south of Rawalpindi) and Karah (80 miles south west of Rawalpindi) were searched by police with military assistance, resulting in loot being recovered and arrests made.

3. SITUATION IN DELHI

HQ Delhi District in a report dated 24 April 1947 states that 9 stabbings occurred in the Sadar Bazar area. A 24 hrs. curfew has been imposed on the affected locality. Today, 25 Apr. being a Muslim holiday, one company of 9/14 Punjab is standing to as a precautionary measure.

4. SITUATION IN BENGAL

Calcutta:

According to reports from Eastern Command and HQ Calcutta Sub Area dated 2 Apr. 1947, there has been a slight improvement in the situation. The report adds that up to 1400 hrs. 24 Apr. ten incidents of stabbings, bomb and acid throwing occurred. Details regarding the number of casualties and arrests made were not known at the time of reporting.

5. STRIKES

- (a) According to reports dated 24 Apr. 1947 from the ordnance authorities in Agra, there was a slight decrease in the attendance at the depot on 24 Apr. No incidents are reported.

- (b) Allahabad:

According to reports from HQ Allahabad Sub Area dated 24 Apr. 1947, the situation in the ordnance depot has deteriorated. There was a decrease in the attendance on 24 Apr. and unsuccessful attempts at arson were made by strikers. The report adds that later the situation became quiet.

- (c) Delhi:

The ordnance authorities in Delhi in a report dated 24 Apr. 1947 state that there has been an increase in attendance at the depot. However, due to the conditions prevailing in Delhi there was slight decrease in the attendance at the vehicle depot. The commandant

of the ordnance depot, the report adds, considers that the strike is practically at an end.

(d) Cawnpore:

The ordnance authorities in Cawnpore [Kanpur] in a report dated 24 Apr. 1947 state that a number of labourers protested against the depot being closed as they suffered from loss of pay and lack of food. Essential services were maintained at the depot by the use of troops.

(e) Muttra [Mathura]:

Ordnance authorities in a report dated 24 Apr. 1947 state that there was a slight decrease in the number of workers reporting for duty at the depot on 24 Apr. It is considered, the report adds, that the decrease is attributed to a certain amount of intimidation by the Communist element in labour. The police have been informed and requested to provide protection to loyal employees.

Brigadier,

D of I

25 Apr. 47

(B.P.T.O. BRIEN)

ENCLOSURE II

INTELLIGENCE BUREAU (HOME DEPARTMENT)

EXTRACT FROM DAILY SITUATION REPORT DATED 21-4-47 RECEIVED
FROM THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR, INTELLIGENCE, PESHAWAR

It is reported that the Pir of Manki, Sardar Bahadur, MLA, and Jalal-ud-Din, MLA, were brought to Abbottabad from the Haripur Prison to discuss the recent Government's decision regarding the unconditional release of all political prisoners. While they were being escorted back the Pir of Manki is reported to have had the opportunity to address a crowd of 500/600, which had collected outside the Police Lines, informing them that the political prisoners were not going to agree to the decision taken by the Government and that the civil disobedience campaign should continue with the same vigour.

Forwarded for information.

23-4-'47

M. K. Sinha
Deputy Director (A)

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
27 April 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 26 April about the intelligence reports you have received from the Frontier.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
26 April 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

With reference to the discussion we had yesterday, you will be interested in the attached extracts of speeches delivered by Mr. Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders during the election campaign in the North-West Frontier Province. These show clearly that the issue at the election was between Hindustan and Pakistan, and on the basis of the election results, there can be no doubt that the verdict of the Pathan was in favour of Hindustan.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

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ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH DELIVERED BY CHAUDHRI
KHALIQUZZAMAN, MEMBER OF THE CENTRAL
PARLIAMENTARY BOARD, AT PESHAWAR ON
30 SEPTEMBER 1945 AS REPRODUCED
IN DAWN OF 3 OCTOBER 1945

"We accept the challenge of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and we will see it is not the Muslim League but the Congress which is crushed in the NWFP and Pakistan established."

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH BY MR. M. A. JINNAH AT BOMBAY
ON 1 NOVEMBER 1945 AS REPRODUCED IN DAWN OF
2 NOVEMBER 1945

"Mr. M. A. Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, predicted today sweeping victory at the polls for the forces of Pakistan and discussed his plans for a separate Muslim nation and steps to be taken to achieve it in the event of election triumphs of which he spoke."

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH BY MR. ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN
AT BANNU ON 8 NOVEMBER 1945, AS REPRODUCED
IN DAWN OF 9 NOVEMBER 1945

"The Frontier Pathans were wide awake and realised that the alternatives which faced Muslims were Pakistan or political death. . . . The Frontier Muslims will rise to a man and by voting Pakistan will vindicate the honour and glory of Islam."

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH BY MR. M. A. JINNAH AT PESHAWAR
ON 22 NOVEMBER 1945 AS REPRODUCED IN
DAWN OF 23 NOVEMBER 1945

"Muslim India expects every Mussalman to stand by our cherished goal, Pakistan, and our national organisation. I am confident that the Pathans of Frontier will join hands with other Indian Muslims to make sacrifices for the cause of Islam. And we shall win gloriously and honourably."

We must do our duty unflinchingly with unity in all ranks of the Mussalmans under the banner of the Muslim League by announcing our unmistakable verdict in favour of the League or in other words in favour of the establishment of Pakistan, when alone can the Muslims ensure their own political and economic future in their own homeland otherwise this future will be very insecure.

"... Discipline demands that you should support the official League candidate and Pakistan and thus maintain the honour, discipline and prestige of our national organisation." Mr. Jinnah warned all leaders to act selflessly, honestly, truthfully and earnestly.

EXTRACTS FROM A SPEECH BY MR. M. A. JINNAH AT PESHAWAR ON
24 NOVEMBER AS REPRODUCED IN DAWN OF
26 NOVEMBER 1945

"We, being backward economically, educationally and weak in the Press, demanded that elections be held. Our position was: All right, let us have general elections and see if the Muslims want Pakistan or Hindu Raj in Akhand Hindustan.

"Do you want Pakistan or no? (shouts of Allah-o-Akbar). Well, if you want Pakistan, vote for the League candidates.

"Muslims want Pakistan, which means Muslim majority rule in Muslim majority provinces with adequate and effective safeguards for the minorities. Our religion, our history and our traditions are the strongest and most effective guarantees for the effective protection of the political, religious and cultural rights of non-Muslims. They shall be more than justly treated (cheers). We want the Hindus to be free and we want freedom for ourselves. But the Hindus want to rule in Akhand Hindustan. They look upon 'Akhand Bharat' as their ancestral indivisible property. We have ruled over this land for 800 years. This is not your property. You are intoxicated today, because Muslims have been left behind in the race and you want to dominate over them."

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH BY KHAN ABDUL QAIYUM KHAN AT
PESHAWAR ON 18 DECEMBER 1945 AS REPRODUCED IN
DAWN OF 19 DECEMBER 1945

"... I appeal to the Mussalmans of the Frontier to rise as one man and vote solidly for those who stand for Pakistan and the Muslim League. If this is done, not one will have the courage to attack Muslim solidarity in future."

EXTRACT FROM A SPEECH BY MR. M. A. JINNAH AT PESHAWAR ON
27 NOVEMBER 1945 AS REPRODUCED IN DAWN OF
28 NOVEMBER 1945

"Every vote in favour of the Muslim League candidate means Pakistan. Every vote against the Muslim League candidate means Hindu Raj. That is the only choice and only issue before us. I am sure that the Mussalmans of the Frontier will rise to the occasion and will play their magnificent part as spearhead of Pakistan."

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New Delhi
12 April 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

With reference to the discussion we had this afternoon, I am sending herewith a copy of the appreciation of Muslim League movement situation in the NWFP on 5-4-47 and the Governor's note below it, about which I spoke to you. I am also enclosing the Fortnightly Report for the second half of March 1947 which gives a statement of the situation up to 31-3-47 and which was apparently prepared on 2 April 1947.

2. I find that Mr. Mitchell has less than 17 years' standing. Apparently, the Governor thought that the Ministry had to learn a great deal from him in regard to the situation in the province with which Mr. Mitchell had dealt at first hand only for a few days, while the Ministry had been dealing with it for a much longer time. You will also observe that this note was got prepared by the Governor over the head of the Chief Minister and that the Governor's suggestion for conciliation or compromise is in regard to a movement, the two demands of which referred to the return of a widow of a Sikh murdered by Muslims, who was converted forcibly to Islam and married off to a Muslim, but subsequently returned to the Sikh by the Ministry according to her free choice, and to the refund of Rs. 75,000 collected from the Tribes under the orders of the Central Government for wanton and wilful raids on a peacefully settled district involving several murders in cold blood and serious loss of property.

3. It is quite clear that if anything the situation demands firm and resolute handling. Instead we have the defeatist mentality of a comparatively young Chief Secretary who is apparently the conscience-keeper of a responsible Governor and the compromise plea of the latter whose especial responsibility it should be to

safeguard constitutional government against the organised attacks and criminal conspiracy of irresponsible agitators and not to persuade it into abdicating its functions.

4. Finally, I need only comment on the difference between the Appreciation, by the same officer, of the situation up to 31-3-1947 and his Appreciation only three days later. It seems that all demoralisation, danger of breakdown and tiresomeness of the services came about during those three or four miraculous days.

5. The conclusion is irresistible that the note was prepared to serve the purpose of a Governor who has made no secret of his determination to hand over the province to a League Ministry.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

APPRECIATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE MOVEMENT SITUATION ON 5-4-'47

1. I submit for consideration the following appreciation. I very much hope that it will not prove annoying to hon'ble ministers, whose opinion may be very different. I venture to do this only because things seem to me in the last degree serious and that it is my duty to present this view with its reasons. I do not presume to comment on the merits or otherwise of the Muslim League motives and methods. I shall try to state only facts, following those with my own inferences.

2. The agitation has met with a great deal of success. The jails are full to capacity. To release many offenders in order to make room for more is only an apparent remedy. It can be no permanent solution of this problem. Indeed as far as I can see there is none.

3. All officers down to and including sub-inspectors of police and corresponding ranks are at the limit of their endurance. It is known that the District Magistrate, Mardan, has been recommended leave on medical certificate. It is for all practical purposes a certainty that most or all senior officers at least will crack up sooner or later; and all the sooner as the hot weather comes on. They have been exposed for about two months already to a physical, nervous, and moral strain which they cannot fairly be asked to endure any longer. They have been abused by responsible people (I state a fact) on grounds of disloyalty, which has not helped. I know that many of them do hold their private political views, though by no means all incline to one

S.C.-V-17

particular party. But I have failed to find evidence of any officer's political views having affected the execution of his duty.

4. The rank and file of the police are also exhausted and bewildered. There have been many cases of illness, including T.B., as the result of unbroken weeks of physical strain, irregular and bad meals, sleeping on the ground in the open, and so on.

5. We have heard on the best authority that the military are not happy about the circumstances in which they have had to work; but it is not for me to state any more when the facts are not fully at my disposal.

6. So much for the civil instruments of law and order. I consider that their powers are for all practical purposes exhausted.

7. I now consider the people in three categories:

(a) Hindus. It is known that deputations have been to the Mullah Sahib of Manki expressing themselves in favour of Pakistan and craving protection. Many Hindus have stated to me that they have no confidence in any present authority for their protection. The exodus of Hindus from every district to other parts of India goes on every day. A substantial number of the forcible conversions reported has been forcible only in the sense that those converted seized with some degree of spontaneity the chance to live as Muslims in safety rather than as Hindus in danger.

(b) Muslims. I have found it impossible to assess accurately the extent to which, if any, the Muslim League have gained ground with the electorate in all districts. Facts conceded by members of the Congress party, however, are that all large towns and Hazara district are now Muslim League sympathisers, active or otherwise. In areas where the Congress party had strong support in the past, reports of meetings usually include mention of hostile demonstrations by Muslim League sympathisers. One opinion, from a person whose opinion is entitled to respect, was to the effect that D. I. Khan and Bannu would show a Muslim League majority, the rural areas of Peshawar and Mardan a Congress majority, with Kohat doubtful but inclined to the Muslim League. The fact does stand out, however, that the Pathans are bitterly divided against one another.

(c) The Tribes. I have not been able to find any evidence of Congress sympathisers anywhere except for a small portion of the Mahsuds. The general tribal policy until recently was for them to hold aloof from Indian politics; but at the same time strong sympathy was generally expressed for the Muslim League. But (to avoid what might be very lengthy detail) the arrest of the Mullah Sahib of Manki, and the firing on March 10 at Peshawar, have had very serious consequences. On 4-4-47 the crowd in Peshawar included Afridis and Mohmands. The former said to a senior officer that on that day they were few; next time there might be 20,000. A deputation of Afridi Maliks has told the D. C., Kohat, that they cannot (and by inference will not)

control their young men. Mohmand jirgas have uttered similar threats. The Dre-Mahsud marakka passed more specific resolutions. I see every possibility of tribal inroads on a large scale culminating in general war. It happened in 1897 and to a less extent between 1916 and 1919, and there is nothing inherently improbable in the same thing happening again.

8. At this point I leave facts as I have been able to collect them and turn with great diffidence to inferences. One frequently reads and hears that the situation, generally or locally, is under control. I believe that an analysis of the facts shows this not to be correct. From time to time and in different places individual situations have been brought under control. Not so the situation as a whole, regarding which it can only be said that it is being coped with from day to day and from hour to hour. The officers of government at least are unable to see more. If this inference is correct, it follows that measures are required to settle the situation, not merely to cope with it; and it is not only the writer of this note who recommends deliberation on this point. The whole population of the province and the tribal areas, and especially the persecuted minorities and overwrought officials, would welcome the news that something was being done other than a grim continuation of the present struggle.

A. N. Mitchell

5-4-'47

9. I asked the Chief Secretary, with his fresh approach to the question as he has just taken over, to let me have his appreciation of the present position arising in the province as a result of the League movement. His appreciation above, I might differ in certain details of his conclusions, but I consider that his application is broadly correct. It is particularly necessary for the provincial Government to bear in mind the strain on officers, which is very great indeed and may lead to a breakdown if something cannot be done to deal with the trouble at its root instead of with its symptoms. I do not consider that the present agitation is likely to grow less without an attempt to work towards some form of conciliation or compromise.

10. The form of conciliation or compromise is of course not at all easy to envisage. What it might be is an announcement by the provincial Government that, while in no sense they yield their constitutional rights, they wish in the public interest to negotiate a settlement and to that end propose to release all persons imprisoned under Section 40, F.C.R. and for breaches of order under Section 144 Cr.P.C., only retaining in jail those under trial or convicted of offences under the IPC (other than Section 188 IPC). The ultimate aim of such a move would have to be very carefully considered, whether it was leading up to the possibility of a coalition Government or to elections eventually. It would probably be very difficult in any case to hold elections during the hot weather.

11. If no form of conciliation is attempted it will be necessary to consider what action to take should there be a real breakdown of civil forces of law and order, complicated possibly by tribal aggression.

12. I thought it well to get all this on to paper, for I regard it as a matter of utmost importance on which close thought is necessary.

O. K. Caroe
Governor
7-4-47

A. N. Mitchell
7-4-47

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13 May 1947

My dear Khan Abdul Samad Khan,

I have received your letter of the 8th instant. I am not surprised about what the local administration is doing in Baluchistan. At present they are masters of the situation and they can do anything without let or hindrance or without any scruples. You have to struggle against many heavy odds and you can only succeed by sticking to the principles of truth and non-violence and by rendering honest service to the people of Baluchistan. For the present you may feel a sense of frustration but in the end truth will triumph.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Khan Abdul Samad Khan
The Istiqlal
Quetta

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New Delhi
4 June 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I have been informed by the manager of the Istiqlal, our weekly organ in Baluchistan, that they were not getting the advertisements of the Government of India along with other papers in spite of the fact that Istiqlal was always on the approved list of the Government in the old bureaucratic times, perhaps due to

the national policy of the paper, and that policy still continues in all the departments including Railway, Military Accounts, Haj Traffic, Disposals, etc. I hope you will kindly look into the matter and help. You can well appreciate that Baluchistan stands in dire need of propaganda, especially from All India Radio, because of its very low education, especially when the impending plebiscite is shortly going to take place. API [Associated Press of India], on which the radio relies for news of Baluchistan, is still at least indifferent, if not hostile, towards nationalists. I have come to know that All India Radio keeps its special correspondents in certain parts of the country, for instance, Delhi. I therefore request you to kindly consider the matter and make arrangements to enable us to send our news directly to AIR either by way of appointing a special representative there or authorising someone to send news telegraphically on some other basis. I may suggest that in either case the man should be an inhabitant of Baluchistan with experience. If need be, I would always be glad to suggest such a one to you.

Yours sincerely,
Abdul Samad Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
10 June 1947

Dear Friend,

In regard to certain schemes of publicity, the Information and Broadcasting Department has no say in giving advertisements. We have got a list of approved newspapers for giving advertisements. This we circulate to departments who are at liberty to give their advertisements to the paper which they consider most useful for the purpose. If you wish to secure advertisements from departments you should approach them direct.

2. I am looking into the question of All India Radio making arrangements for getting authentic news from Baluchistan.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Khan Abdul Samad Khan
Constitution House
Quetta

New Delhi
5 May 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I learn that you are much perturbed by the report in the Hindustan Times of 3 May 1947 regarding the Frontier. I fully share your feelings and consider that it was most regrettable and unfortunate; but you would be interested in the enclosed copy of a cutting from the Bharat Jyoti dated 4 May 1947. You will notice that the version given by Norman Cliff is much more definite and I feel it is even more unfortunate that this should have secured wide publicity in England. Fortunately the message has not so far been published in any other Indian newspaper as far as I am aware.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

Viceregal Lodge
Simla
9 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 5 May. I had not previously seen the cutting which you forwarded me from the Bharat Jyoti and it is a pity that such a reputable correspondent should indulge in speculation of this type. However, as I said in my letter last week, freedom of speech naturally entails a free Press and it is difficult to see how articles of this type can be prevented.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

The Istiqlal
Quetta
8 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Reference our personal talks last month I have reliably learnt that while we are expecting here in Baluchistan the dawn of independence and prosperity the local administration is preparing new chains and shackles for the poor people. Heretofore the local administration patronised only the Sardars and all anti-nationalist elements by personal gifts of money and titles etc., just to discourage the nationalist movement, but now they are making the services more and more anti-nationalist by adopting a policy of giving promotions and other favours only to the sons of Sardars having no other qualification except their birth, and very brilliant, better and experienced young men are ignored simply because they have nationalist views. Recently some tehsildars were promoted as EACs. A majority of these promotions went to matriculates, being relatives of Sardars who were junior in service to many a graduate and law-graduate. In this connection every effort was made to keep the nationalist young men down. In the case of my friends Mohd. Akbar Khan, M.A., LL.B., Gul Mohd. Khan, M.A., LL.B., [although] the most senior and better qualified among the lot, a son of Nawab Jogazai and a brother of Sardar Mohd. Usman Khan, President, Muslim League, Fortsandeman were promoted in spite of being junior as well as less qualified.

Another son of Nawab Jogazai, namely, Jehangir Khan, a mere matriculate, was made an EAC last year. Now he is posted to be trained in land settlement for three months after which he will be taken in the Political Service as an APA. Similarly two sons of other Nawabs, namely, Nawab Raisany and Nawab Bugti, are promised to be recruited as APAs directly. Yet another reactionary move is about to materialise, i.e., the Sardar of Bugti tribe, Mohd. Akbar Khan, a young man notorious for his corruption and rudeness to his tribe, is about to receive the powers of a 1st class honorary magistrate in addition to his Sardari like that of Baluch Tumandars of Dera Ghazi Khan district in the Punjab,

a thing not only previously unknown in this province but also bound to make all the other Sardars—76 in all—aspiring for the same powers, with the result that most of them will receive the same sooner or later. You are already aware that I had written a letter to the AGG here on 23-3-47 to which you very [kindly] sent a reply but the AGG had not replied to it till yesterday when he informed me personally in the course of an interview after several reminders. The AGG was so [callous] that he “granted” me the abovementioned interview on my request after one week.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,
Khan Abdul Samad Khan

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
10 June 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

We have received a suggestion, through your department, from the Chief Commissioner of Baluchistan that some officers should be secured from the UP Government to meet the shortage in Baluchistan which would arise as a result of the retirement of some six Indian Political Service officers. In making this suggestion, the Chief Commissioner, Sir Geoffrey Prior, has stated that the Punjab officers would be unpopular and therefore it was preferable to get officers from the UP. Had the requirements been immediate, we would have been bound to explore the possibility of getting officers from the UP. But since the need would arise round about August, I have asked my office to inform the External Affairs Department that the result of the referendum should be awaited. If Baluchistan decides to join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, no question would arise of our going to their rescue.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

Allah Nawaz Castle
Dera Ismail Khan
NWF Province
14 July 1947

My dear Sardar,

Jai Hind.

It is an irony of fate that physically and politically, at present, we have been separated from the Centre, but no power on earth can separate us spiritually, mentally and nationally from you. All the forces of reaction, coupled with [undiluted] communalism, are working at a high pitch in the land of the gallant Pathans. Anyhow, for the present, our future is not at all bright. One cannot say safely what tomorrow holds for us.

The bearer of this letter is a very dear friend of mine and has stayed in the Frontier for about 11 years as a missionary. He is a man of strong nationalist views, and indeed a very learned and interesting personality to meet. He has widely travelled in Europe and America and is a double M.A. of American universities. He has studied the Frontier situation not only as a missionary but as a political student and is fully alive to all the underhand ways and means of the Political Department, preaching the gospel of Christ on the Frontier with a political motive behind it. I am sure you would be kind enough to give him a sympathetic hearing, and it will greatly add to your information regarding the Frontier problems. He is a man of learning, knowledge and experience and is a delight in literary circles. I am sure he is a person best suited to serve the country as a politician rather than a missionary. I trust you are in the best of spirits. If time and political conditions permit, I look forward to the pleasure of meeting you in early October next.

I pray to Almighty God to grant you long life, courage and confidence to serve our motherland to the best of your means.

With best wishes and kind regards.

Yours as ever,

Nawabzada Allah Nawaz Khan
Speaker, NWFP Legislative Assembly

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

9 Commissioner Road
Peshawar
21 July 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

This is to introduce Mr. Hamidullah Khan, B.A., resident of Badrashi, Tehsil Nowshera, Peshawar district. He belongs to a respectable family of the NWFP and is a very good worker of our organization. He wishes to see you in connection with the appointment of a supervisor in the Pushtu branch of All India Radio, Delhi. I hope you may favourably consider his case. I am confident Mr. Hamidullah will efficiently fill in this post.

Yours sincerely,
Sadullah

The Hon'ble Sardar V. J. Patel
Home Member
Interim Government
New Delhi

New Delhi
13 August 1947

My dear Chaudhuri,

The bearer of this note is Mr. Hamidullah Khan who has been recommended to HM by the Chief Parliamentary Secretary of the NWF Province. He wants to be appointed as supervisor in the Pushtu branch of All India Radio in Delhi. HM would be glad if you could see whether anything could be done for him.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

Private Secretary to HM Home and
I & B

P. C. Chaudhuri Esq., ICS
Director-General
All India Radio
New Delhi

New Delhi
26 November 1947

My dear Sadullah Khan,

Many thanks for your letter. We are very glad to know that you are all right. We have not been hearing from either you or Badshah Khan¹ and Dr. Khan Sahib, but I can assure you that all of you are ever present in our thoughts. No use my writing anything more.

With kindest regards.

Hope you are all well.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Mr. Sadullah Khan
Peshawar

Civil Secretariat, NWFP
Peshawar
23 July 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you very much indeed for the telegraphic offer of the post of stenographer in the Information Department to my P.A. (Mr. Badri Nath). Badri Nath gratefully accepts the offer in the hope that his present posting will be a temporary phase in the great reorganisation that is taking place and that when an occasion arose for rewarding merit and loyalty he would receive your generous consideration.

¹ Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan: Better known as 'Frontier Gandhi'; noted Congress leader and organiser of Khudai Khidmatgars; member, Congress Working Committee; represented Congress in negotiations with Cabinet Mission in 1946; member, CA; agitated for establishment of Pakhtoonistan for which he was jailed for years in Pakistan; was in self-imposed exile in Kabul till December 1972; awarded Jawaharlal Nehru Award for promoting international peace, 1970

I have no doubt that he will maintain his high reputation and prove worthy of the trust and confidence of his officers.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Mohammad Yahya Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

CHAPTER VIII
ORISSA : SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

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Camp Cuttack
13 February 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Publication in the Press regarding the projected intention of the Premier, Shri Mahtab,¹ to resign his office may have attracted your attention. This letter is therefore addressed to you to keep you informed of the facts. The whole thing is a storm in a tea cup and need not worry you.

Shri Mahtab hoped that he would get full co-operation and support from the Congress organisation. In the PGC elections the Ministry remained neutral and Mrs. Malati Choudhary exploited her favoured position and the animosity of certain MLAs and Ministers against me in the course of formation of the Ministry and distribution of portfolios and got elected president, PGC. Socialist elements got thus the upperhand on the machinery of the PGC though their strength in the province is far limited. Instead of co-operation, the Ministry [had] to face hostile propaganda. The Parliamentary Party became a little indifferent giving always full confidence to the Ministry. Because of Hon'ble Nabakrushna Choudhary, Mrs. Choudhary was tolerated to some extent as president, PGC. Even Naba Babu could not control the Socialists with all his endeavours. We had the students' strike, 144 Cr. P.C. etc. All these pained Shri Mahtab and he insisted upon his resignation. I had informed you since October 1945 at Poona that his presence in the Ministry is at present a necessity. There was a full discussion in the Assembly Party and I believe that this threat has succeeded in activising the Parliamentary Party. There is no trouble here to worry you.

¹H. K. Mahtab: MLA (Bihar and Orissa) 1924; President, Utkal PCC, 1930 and 1937; member, CWC, 1938-46; Chief Minister, Orissa, 1946-50; Central Government Minister, 1950-52; Governor of Bombay, 1955-56; Chief Minister of Orissa, 1957-60; resigned from Congress party in January 1973

I hope this finds you in perfect health. We are all delighted to see the result of the conduct of your negotiations with the Indian States.

With pranams,

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
Biswanath Das¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
19 February 1947

My dear Biswanath Babu,

I have received your letter of the 13th instant.

I read about Shri Mahtab's resignation in the Press, but I was not disturbed at all because I know that Orissa cannot afford to do without him at present. It is regrettable that irresponsible elements in the party and outside create trouble and mischief at this juncture. What is wanted is sincere co-operation and hard work. There is an opportunity which Orissa has got for the first time to raise the province from the depths of poverty, distress and sickness to economic regeneration and rehabilitation all round. No other province has got such a fine opportunity as Orissa. You have a good Indian Governor and financial help from the Centre for good beneficial schemes, and you have no communal or other problems. If this opportunity is not properly utilised, I am afraid it may not recur again. I hope people will realise this.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Biswanath Das, MLA
Cuttack

¹ Elected to Orissa legislature, 1920; Premier of Orissa, 1937-39; member of CA; Governor of UP; Chief Minister of Orissa, 1971-72

Government House
Puri

24 May 1947

My dear Mr. Patel,

I write to say that I very much appreciated the opportunity of a talk with you when I was in Delhi last. I told you then that the Ministry and I in Orissa were working together as one team, and that relations between the services, including the police and the Ministry, were all that could be desired. We have so far been able to maintain law and order in Orissa, and, except the firing at Bhadrak in July last which resulted in four Muslims being killed and eight others wounded, we have had no incident of any kind. It is, however, necessary for all of us to be eternally vigilant and you may be interested to know that after discussion with my Ministry Mahtab and I have issued a secret and personal letter on the importance of maintenance of law and order to the Revenue Commissioner, the Inspector-General of Police, the Inspector-General of Prisons, all Collectors and all Superintendents of Police. In case you would care to glance through the letter, I enclose a copy for your personal information. The picture in paragraph 2 of the letter may be a little overdrawn, but it seems necessary to emphasise the dangers in front of us, though it may be that some of them may not materialise. Our Communists are already giving us a good deal of trouble, and the foolish people of Sambalpur have already started satyagraha against the Hirakud Dam project. We are watching the Communist situation, and it may be necessary for us to arm ourselves with special powers. The Sambalpur agitation has not assumed serious proportions, and the present indications are that we will be able to deal with it effectively without special powers. In this connection, it may interest you to know that last year we created a Military Police consisting of two striking companies and one headquarters company, and that very recently we have strengthened the force by the addition of one more striking company.

2. This letter is only for your personal information.

Yours sincerely,
G. M. Trivedi

The Hon'ble Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM SHRI CHANDULAL TRIVEDI'S LETTER DATED 14
MAY 1947 TO CHIEF OFFICERS OF THE PROVINCE

At the same time, even in Orissa dangers and difficulties lie ahead of us. We have in our midst persons and parties whose activities tend to disturb public feeling and to promote lawlessness and violence which may ultimately lead to a situation bordering on chaos. You have already been instructed how to deal with these activities—please see circular demi-official letters Nos. 133(6)C of 18 January and 733(6)C of 11 April 1947 from the Chief Secretary. In Sambalpur district there have been threats of direct action in connection with the anti-Hirakud Dam agitation. Agrarian unrest is also being fostered by certain persons and parties who do not hesitate to exploit labour, whether industrial, agricultural or domestic. There may also occur (if this has not already occurred) infiltration of outsiders [into] the province with the sole object of creating trouble between Hindus and Muslims or between different parts of the province or different sections of the Hindu community. There is also evidence of attempts, fortunately not on any considerable scale, to sabotage the loyalty of Government servants, particularly the police, by spreading discontent among them. Troubles in neighbouring provinces may also have adverse repercussions here. Further, there is a real danger that corrupt or easygoing or gullible elements within Orissa itself may play into the hands of those, whether belonging to Orissa or hailing from outside Orissa, who are out to make trouble for their own selfish or sectional ends.

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New Delhi
29 May 1947

My dear Sir Chandulal,

Thank you for your demi-official letter dated 24 May 1947 and for the enclosures.

2. Both you and your Prime Minister have made the right approach to the problem of maintenance of law and order in your province. The instructions which you have issued are quite comprehensive and should meet the object in view.

3. I am glad that there is so much accord between you and the Ministry and that the province is deriving full benefit from it.

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With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Chandulal M. Trivedi
Governor of Orissa
Puri

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New Delhi
31 May 1947

My dear Mahtab,

I am told that the Government of Orissa has agreed to the grant to European officers of the subordinate services of the right to proportionate pension in the event of premature retirement or discharge or dismissal for reasons not involving moral turpitude. I am inclined to doubt this because I am sure that such an important decision you would not have taken without a reference to us. I should like to have confirmation that this is so.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Harekrushna Mahtab
Cuttack

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Cuttack
15 June 1947

Revered Sardarji,

Please refer to your letter dated 31 May 1947 regarding the European officers of the subordinate services.

The fact is that some time in the second week of May the Governor and myself discussed amongst ourselves the representation of the sergeants, sergeants major and officiating deputy superintendents of police of European domicile with regard to their future. In our province there are altogether 16 officers in these categories, of whom 4 are temporary. They felt apprehensive about their future and waited in deputation on the Inspector-General of Police to forward their representation to Government. It was represented that many of these officers would like to stay provided they felt

S.C.-V-18

reasonably certain about their future position. The Governor and myself thought that it would perhaps be better to retain as many of these officers in service as possible in the interests of the training and discipline [of] the police force. We can replace them only by drawing upon the army, the prospect of which did not appear [to] us to be bright. Accordingly, we amongst ourselves agreed that we should concede some of their demands and keep them contented here. This was, however, a discussion between the Governor and myself and it related only to this province. It had no bearing on the general policy which will be followed by the Central Government. There is no doubt about the fact that we will follow the policy which will be decided upon by the Central Government. Even so far as our Provincial Government is concerned we have not decided upon any policy and as a matter of fact the representation which has been made to Government by the Inspector-General of Police on behalf of the sergeants and sergeants major is under examination in the Secretariat. Government as such have not come to any conclusion regarding the representation. The discussion between the Governor and myself cannot be taken as the decision of Government. As a matter of fact, before I received your letter, I have myself started re-examination of the whole representation. I would like to know from you the policy which we should follow in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
H. Mahtab

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
19 June 1947

My dear Mahtab,

Thank you for your letter dated 15 June 1947 regarding European officers of the subordinate services.

2. We have taken the stand throughout that persons domiciled in India have no claims for special consideration on account of the transfer of power. To grant any right of proportionate pension to European officers for the subordinate services would be a definitely discriminatory act against which we have been fighting throughout, and would also be contrary to the principle mentioned above.

On either of these grounds, therefore, there is no case for any further concession and I hope you will drop the matter. We must follow a uniform policy in all the provinces in such matters.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Harekrushna Mahtab
Cuttack

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Government House
Puri
16 June 1947

My dear Mr. Patel,

I understand that at a meeting held by you with the Premiers of certain provinces early last month in New Delhi it was decided that a joint appeal should be issued by you and them to officers of the Secretary of State's Services to continue their services in future. I further understand that the idea was to issue this appeal after the plan for the transfer of power was known. At that time we were working on the assumption that the control of the Secretary of State over the services would terminate by June 1948. It now appears that the control will go by August 1947. The issue of an appeal is therefore an urgent matter. I feel that such an appeal is needed, and that besides requesting the officers to continue in service (this of course does not mean that we should not get rid of unwanted officers), it should include the assurances contained in the Viceroy's announcement on the subject of the grant of compensation.

I have written this letter because several of my officers, some of them British, are making enquiries about this matter, and the sooner we assure them the better it is for the administration.

Yours sincerely,
G. M. Trivedi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
19 June 1947

My dear Sir Chandulal,

Thank you for your demi-official letter dated 16 June 1947.

2. The sense of the meeting of the Premiers which I held last month was definitely against the issue of a joint appeal. They merely wanted a statement to be sent to individual officers containing the terms of which their services would be retained and asking for their individual wishes in this respect. A letter to individual officers on these lines has issued yesterday through the Provincial Governments concerned. We have made it as comprehensive as possible and I feel that no further action beyond the issue of this letter would be necessary.

3. I do not see why individual Indian officers should expect or ask for an appeal from me to render to the country what they owe to it. As regards European officers, I would deprecate making any discrimination between them and Indian officers so far as we are concerned. If they wish to continue, they are welcome to do so. For that they should need no persuasion or coaxing from us. If they do not wish to remain, the terms of the Viceroy's announcement are there. We cannot add to or detract from it. I think you may have to come here for a short period to help us in the matter of division of the army and the consequent assets and liabilities.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir C. M. Trivedi
Puri

Puri
22 June 1947

My dear Mr. Patel,

Thank you very much for your letter of 19 June on the question of an appeal to the Secretary of State's Services.

2. I wrote to you about this matter because Mahtab told me that at the meeting of the Premiers it was decided to issue a joint appeal. From what you say, he must be under a misapprehension. I quite agree with you that a letter to individual officers is sufficient. I have not yet seen the letter to which you refer, and will not have an opportunity of seeing it here as I am leaving for Delhi tomorrow by air in connection with the matter which you have referred to at the end of your letter. I should be reaching Delhi at about 1-30 p.m. tomorrow (Monday 23) and will be staying at the Viceroy's House. I should be very glad if a copy of the letter to individual officers is sent to me at that address for my information. So far as we are concerned we may have to make some small changes in the letter in view of the fact that the cadres of the Secretary of State's Services in Bihar and Orissa are joint.

3. I shall of course meet you when I am in Delhi. More when we meet.

Yours sincerely,
C. M. Trivedi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Cuttack
21 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I have just had a letter from the Governor of Bihar to say that the provisional view of the Bihar Ministry is that no British officer of the Secretary of State's Services should be retained in service after 15 August 1947 even though he may express a willingness to stay on after transfer of power. The view of the Orissa Ministry is that each case of a British officer who wishes to stay on after 15 August should be considered on merits. There are certain British officers whom for one reason or another it is not desirable to suppress, while there are some who are good, efficient and have adapted themselves to changing circumstances. In my opinion, the view of the Bihar Ministry is detrimental to our best interests. Our old men's native machine is going to be weakened very considerably, and it is obviously sound policy to retain efficient British officers in whom we have confidence. We have joint cadres with Bihar, and the view of Bihar affects Orissa adversely in two ways:

(i) it will weaken still further the 5/5 cadre and the loss will be borne by Orissa proportionately; (ii) it may expose us to criticism if we [get] some British officers or ask Bihar to let us have two or three good British officers whom they don't wish to retain.

I feel that these days we have to lay aside sentiment and past prejudices and do the best we can not to lose good men, even if they happen to be British officers.

This letter is meant only for you. I would not have written it if the Bihar view did not affect us in Orissa. Whoever will be Governor of Bihar will have a hard job, and we ought not to make it harder for him by losing men unnecessarily.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Chandulal Trivedi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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Cuttack
26 July 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you very much for your letter of 23 July. It is very good of you to say that you may be able to help us in getting suitable ICS officers from Bengal and ISE officers from the Punjab. My Council of Ministers and I will consider the matter formally when we get specific proposals from the Home Department and the Department of Works, Mines and Power.

Yours sincerely,
Chandulal Trivedi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

CHAPTER IX

PUNJAB : POST-PARTITION PROBLEMS

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5 Canning Lane
New Delhi
18 February 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I want to draw your kind attention to the new recruitment of station directors, assistant directors, listeners' research officers and others for All India Radio which is coming very soon.

You will observe that the representation of the Sikhs in this department is far from being adequate. I request [you] to ensure that suitable candidates from among the Sikhs are recommended by the FPSC [Federal Public Service Commission]. I can assure you that qualified Sikhs are available for the job.

I hope that you will personally look into the matter and take some steps to remedy the defects.

Yours sincerely,
Mangal Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
19 February 1947

Dear Sardar Mangal Singh,

Please refer to your letter of 18 February 1947 regarding appointments to All India Radio.

2. As you are aware we have already issued instructions regarding the rotation in which appointments are to be filled by various communities. In communicating our requirements to the Federal Public Service Commission, we make it clear that a particular post is to be filled by a representative of a particular community.

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Beyond this I am afraid it is not possible for us to interfere with the discretion of the Federal Public Service Commission.

3. I regret therefore it is not possible for me to do anything further in this matter.

Yours sincerely,
V. J. Patel

Sardar Mangal Singh
MLA (Central)
5 Canning Lane
New Delhi

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4 July 1947

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

A. K. Chanda¹ who has returned from Lahore tells me that all of you are under the impression that we shall be absorbing all the surplus non-Muslim staff of the Punjab over that which cannot be absorbed in East Punjab. You talked to me about senior officers of the Secretary of State's Services, and it was with reference to the senior officers that I said there would be no difficulty in absorbing them. But the lower staff, both ministerial and inferior, cannot possibly be absorbed here. In the first place, we do not think we would be in deficit of such staff, and in the second place, recruitment of such staff is based on possession of requisite local knowledge and other qualifications which have reference to local laws, local revenue system, etc. Lastly, you must not forget that we have a non-Muslim population in Pakistan whom we cannot leave entirely at the mercy of the Muslim staff. It is also not advisable to remove all the non-Muslim staff from the West Punjab.

In these circumstances, I hope you will lay out your plans on this basis.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Lahore

¹ Comptroller and Auditor-General, 1954-59; member of Land-Lease delegation to USA, 1946; Adviser, Punjab Partition Council, 1947; Additional Secretary, Government of India, 1947; Deputy High Commissioner for India in UK, 1948-49

New Delhi
6 July 1947

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

I have already written to you about the position regarding non-Muslim officers and staff who are now serving in the West Punjab and explained the difficulties involved in our giving them an assurance of absorption of the surplus personnel by the Centre. It is clear that you cannot absorb all of them in the Eastern Punjab. With the best will in the world, the Centre could only help in regard to men in the senior administrative services and technical officers such as engineers etc. But insofar as the subordinate staff is concerned, it would be clearly impossible for the Centre to be of any practical assistance for the reasons which I have already mentioned in my previous letter.

2. I am, therefore, inclined to suggest that your line on this question should be somewhat as follows:

We shall do our best to absorb non-Muslim officers and staff in the Eastern Punjab. But surplus of varying extent in all grades and particularly amongst the subordinate and inferior staff is inevitable; to the extent that it would be possible for the Centre to assist in absorbing the surplus amongst senior administrative services we have every hope to secure Central assistance, but it is clear that particularly in regard to subordinate and inferior staff it would be impossible to rely on Central absorption. At the same time it is not possible for us to ignore altogether the interest of the non-Muslim minority in the Western Punjab. It is necessary for the protection of this minority that a certain number of non-Muslim officers and staff should continue in the Western Punjab as long as possible. Indeed a large-scale withdrawal might cause administrative breakdown which would be disastrous to the non-Muslim population itself. Thus if all canal engineers left, the irrigation system would almost certainly suffer in efficiency and both the non-Muslim zamindars and cultivators would seriously suffer. Such of the non-Muslim officers and staff as cannot be absorbed in the Eastern Punjab or at the Centre should, therefore, be advised to stay on in the Western Punjab at least on a provisional basis.

3. Alternatively all those who elect to serve in the Eastern Punjab and cannot be so absorbed should be formed into a separate cadre from which they could be lent to the Western Punjab on their existing terms subject to suitable assurances in regard to prospects, and promotion etc.

4. You should endeavour, therefore, to encourage such officers and men to remain in the Western Punjab at least for the time being and to secure for them the maximum possible safeguards.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Lahore

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5 Montgomery Road
Lahore
19 March 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

On 11 December 1946 I sent to you a fairly long letter under registered cover giving you some facts about the situation in the Frontier Province. I got a postal receipt from your P.A. but as you were then touring in Bombay Presidency I am not sure if my letter was at all placed in your hands. I did not remind you as I did not feel sure that even if you got it you would acknowledge it. In any case, I am now enclosing a copy of it for your perusal.

My apprehensions, you will see, have proved more than correct, if you have been following what has been happening in the Punjab from the 5th up to now. Your colleagues have paid visits to this province but we are all in the dark as to what steps they propose to take to put an end to the present trouble and to make recurrence of the trouble impossible. The situation in the Punjab and the NWFP is tragic. I do not believe that the number of casualties officially given is correct and the general apprehension is that the casualties may be many times more than what has been officially communicated to the authorities in the Punjab and by the Punjab authorities to your Government. The situation is very critical indeed. The time for talking is over. If you want to save the Punjab and the NWFP, and I may say even India, you will have to wake up. If the future action of the Government is to be judged from what they have done to meet the present trouble

the outlook is gloomy indeed. If the Government has not been able to cope with the present trouble, what hopes can we cherish for its success in case the law-breakers in the Punjab are reinforced from the NWFP and from the Tribal area! A large proportion of the people are armed and I speak it on the authority of a high police officer that the mob of 12,000 odd that surrounded Mianwali was armed to the teeth not only with rifles but with tommy guns and hand grenades. You might have also seen a picture taken from the air of the mob marching from Golra to invade Rawalpindi. I am enclosing a cutting for your information.

I am writing to you this letter which is a sort of SOS as we have reason to believe that more trouble is ahead. Please read the cuttings from the Statesman of the 16th and 17th and from the Ajit of the 19th enclosed herewith. I hope you will consider the following suggestions that I venture to make for consideration by you and your colleagues:

1. The army should be strengthened as I have no doubt in my mind that when the trouble spreads the Muslim section of the army will go over to the rebels and you will have to meet a large trained Muslim army in addition to the irregulars from the Punjab, NWFP and trans-frontier tribes if not from Afghanistan itself. The cry of reduction in military expenditure should be silenced and military organisation should be given preference over all other programmes whether of social reforms or of commercial and industrial expansions.
2. You should see that all voters to the legislatures in all the Congress-governed provinces are allowed licences for firearms.
3. Muslim National Guards are being openly recruited and many of them are being armed. They have been going about in uniform with steel helmets on their heads firing on the Hindus with illicit arms or arms lent to them by the Muslim policemen. There is no reason why the Congress should not organise a similar band of civic guards for the maintenance of peace. If the Congress had acted upon the suggestion which I made to Mahatma Gandhi eight years ago and also to the then Premiers of the first Congress Governments the Congress would have had an army of two millions at its command even if without any firearms. If men are there properly drilled and trained it does not take long to train them in the use of arms.
4. You must strengthen the air force as without an air force no battle can be fought in these days. You should also encourage the establishment of flying clubs all over the country and as was

the case a few years ago and may be even now you should liberally subsidise them. In Bombay and Madras you must have nautical schools and should persuade the Indian States having sea ports in their territories to do the same.

5. If funds permit I would reiterate the suggestion of conscription on a peacetime footing as suggested in my last letter.

I trust that you will not look upon this letter of mine as coming from an alarmist. I am not an alarmist but I visualize the situation and I have to apprise you of the danger as my previous anticipations in this direction have proved absolutely correct. The Hindus suffered for centuries because they did not take the first incursions and invasions seriously and woke up when it was too late.

I have refrained from discussing political and constitutional questions. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been here and I have no doubt that he will take you and his other colleagues into confidence and arrive at a satisfactory solution of the constitutional muddle in the province. There is some difference of opinion as regards the partition of the Punjab but I can assure you that if the dividing line is the Ravi river it would satisfy a vast majority of the Hindus and the Sikhs.

Yours sincerely,
G. C. Narang¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
25 March 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 19th instant with its enclosures.

I am sorry to say that your letters make very painful reading. You seem to believe that we do not know what is happening in the Frontier or in the Punjab, or that we do not care for what is happening there. If that is your belief, it is futile for us to try to

¹ Minister, Local self-Government, Punjab; relinquished knighthood in 1945 in protest against Government's attitude to legitimate rights of Hindus; later President, Hindu Mahasabha; pioneered industrial development in Punjab

convince you otherwise. If you think that our vacating this place from the Central Government would be of help to the Hindu community, we are prepared to do so. Your having no confidence in us is understandable, but your prejudice against the Congress is so great that no Congressman would be able to convince you that they are capable of discharging their duty towards the great Hindu community or the brave Sikh community as well as any Indian. You cannot expect us to expose all our plans, or to explain to you everything that is being done.

You are labouring under a misapprehension that the Central Government has got powers which are not being exercised in this crisis. You also feel that we are not in touch with events that are happening in the Punjab and that we get our information only from the newspapers.

You must know that there is what is called the Intelligence Department of the Government of India. There is also the Military Intelligence Service. There is, therefore, nothing which is not known to us, and of which you are aware.

Both my colleagues had come there in consultation with me and they have done what was possible for them to do. We are also doing what is possible at this end, but you cannot ignore the fact that under the present Constitution that has been functioning the provinces are more or less independent and therefore the controlling authority in emergencies is the Governor and the Viceroy.

You have not understood correctly my speech at Meerut or at other places. I still stand by that, but that speech does not indicate that I am going to provide swords for the Hindus in the Frontier or in the Punjab or in any other minority areas. My advice to them was to be prepared to defend their lives, property and the honour of their womenfolk. After all, when the third party is going to disappear, in the transitional period, trouble is bound to arise, and the unfortunate people residing in the minority areas have to bear the brunt. They must be prepared to face the consequences. It is no use demoralising them by simply raising cries or throwing blame on others. That would not help them at all.

I have nothing but admiration for those Sikhs and Hindus who have fought bravely against heavy odds in Muktang, Rawalpindi and other adjoining areas.

When I was at Poona, I had seen a letter addressed by you to Gandhiji in very offensive terms, and since then we had come to the conclusion that no useful purpose would be served by

carrying on any correspondence with you. You hold very clear ideas about us, and perhaps you don't think that we know our duties and responsibilities. Excuse me, therefore, if I thought it right not to respond to your letters in order again to hear from you in not very pleasant terms.

I can only assure you again that without your reminding us of our duties, we are fully conscious of them and are doing what is humanly possible for us to do.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Gokulchand Narang
5 Montgomery Road
Lahore

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Shiromani Committee Jain Baradari
Rawalpindi
13 June 1947

[Revered Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,]

Jai Hind.

The above committee have decided to negotiate with you on the subject referred below, and I on behalf of it with due respect and honour beg to communicate extract of the proceeding of a meeting held to consider the welfare of this community under the new developments [that have] taken place.

During the last few months of communal disturbances in the province and in Rawalpindi particularly, we faced and stood in accordance [with] your advice communicated to us from time to time through the Press and wireless. Now when division of India and the province is accepted by all parties and [when] we will cut off from Hindustan to Pakistan, where it will be impossible to remain, we therefore seek your kind advice and hope to be favoured per return [with] help and guidance.

Thanking you in anticipation and awaiting favourably,

I beg to remain,
Yours faithfully,
for Secretary

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
22 June 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 13 June 1947. The questions which you raise are very pertinent ones in view of the division of the Punjab which, I have no doubt, will be decided upon tomorrow. I fully appreciate the sentiments and feelings of those who have suffered or witnessed the sufferings of others during the recent Punjab disturbances. Lahore and Amritsar are even now disturbed areas. Whether these disturbances will continue after partition is difficult to prophesy and still remains to be seen. Those who have got a stake in Pakistan of the future cannot leave their places unless they are prepared to face the misery and sufferings of refugees. The question is, therefore, for every individual to argue out for himself and to be prepared to face the consequences of such action as he may take. It is possible that the Pakistan Government may find the presence of Hindus and Sikhs indispensable and, therefore, now that the Muslims have secured a homeland for which they have agitated in season and out of season, they may find that it is in their interest to ensure protection and justice to the minorities. If that comes about, minorities may not have anything to fear. We may also be able to afford some protection on the basis of reciprocity in regard to treatment of minorities.

2. Each individual must, therefore, judge for himself as to how far he can feel safe where he is. If he feels that he cannot face up to the danger, he has got no alternative except to leave the place, but if he feels that he can bide his time and see how things shape themselves after Pakistan, he should stay where he is and depend on such protection as the Pakistan Government may be able to afford and we may be able to secure for him on the basis of reciprocity or such other arrangement with the Pakistan Government as may be possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Secretary
Shiromani Committee Jain Baradari
Rawalpindi

Anand Bhawan
Mandi Bahauddin
Gujarat Dist.
7 July 1947

Shrijut Pujnia Sardarji,

Since the announcement of 3 June I am being put questions from all sides as to the rights of citizenship of the Hindus and Sikhs of Western Punjab, on whose sacrifice the Congress has achieved independence. No doubt the Congress has made great sacrifices but we people have suffered most. We lost our dear ones, our females suffered a lot, our houses have been burnt and several of us have become quite helpless and forlorn. The said statement has made all of us (who are left) citizens of Pakistan, and there is not a single word of sympathy from any quarter. The refugees are being asked to come back and not a word has so far been said about us, at whose cost the Indian Union has got sovereign power. We people were not even consulted as to the partition, though our representatives had gone to the Assembly [with] the pledge that they won't agree to the partition of Punjab. The Punjab Hindu has suffered most and if this state of affairs goes on, he will become extinct. We are running from one town to another to save our lives and are leaving our hard earned immovable property to the winds.

Sardarji, I confess that it is your personality that is keeping our morale very high and we are all looking towards you. May Almighty Father be with you and bless you with all His happiness.

Your most obedient son,
Parma Nand Trehan

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
16 July 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 7 July 1947.

You can have no idea how much worry and anxious thought have been given to the plight of refugees and to the situation in the Punjab nor of the sorrow and bitterness with which we agreed to partition. The plight of refugees and the tragedies being perpetrated on the non-Muslims in the Punjab have given me not a few sleepless nights. After a great deal of thought we all came to the conclusion that partition was the only way to save a large number of Hindus and Sikhs, though it meant separation from a considerable number of our brethren; but I can assure you that the minorities in Western Punjab will not go uncared for by their brethren on this side. You must not forget that almost an equally large number of Muslims [are] also left here and it will not be in the interests of Muslims in Pakistan to continue their present treatment of the minorities there.

As regards the rights of citizenship at present, the matter is under the consideration of the Constituent Assembly, but whatever the definition may be, you can rest assured that the Hindus and Sikhs of Pakistan cannot be considered as aliens in India.

Regarding the other matters to which you have referred, very soon we shall have a refugee officer who will look into the needs and requirements of refugees and make his recommendations as to how best they should be met.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Parma Nand Trehan, B.A., LL.B.
Anand Bhawan
Gujarat Dist.

Imperial Hotel
New Delhi
4 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I left Lahore on 10 September. After the division of the Punjab I had decided to remain in Lahore. But when all others with whom I was connected in business and otherwise had left and would not return, it was quite useless for me to remain there any more. I could do there absolutely no work. Besides, owing to what had been done by the Sikhs in the East Punjab, even according to the Muslim friends who were very intimately connected with me, it was sheer foolhardiness on my part to remain there any longer.

But remaining in Lahore so late did me one good. I was able to have first-hand knowledge about the designs of the people there about India. As very few non-Muslims were left in Lahore, friends there made no secret of their aims and objects and of how to accomplish them.

I am now in Delhi and have seen what is going on here. From reports in papers of what sort of arms and ammunitions have been found in the Capital city of India, I have found ample corroboration of what I had come to know in Lahore.

I have read your recent statements and speeches very carefully. I am deeply touched by your bold patriotism and wise statesmanship. I have decided to whole-heartedly offer my services to you and through you to the Congress High Command at this critical juncture; though only with a little reservation that under the present set-up it shall not be proper or possible for me to accept any salaried job in the State.

Since I resigned from the Congress Working Committee, I had often to criticise Congress policy and programme. But I always endeavoured that such criticism should be constructive; its aim was always to strengthen the organisation whose leaders had toiled so hard and suffered so heavily for the uplift of the country. But now when the Congress is attacked by the reactionary

elements from amongst its own erstwhile followers, and when hostile forces near our borders plot to deprive us of our hard-won freedom, I regard it my duty to stand by you and your colleagues and offer to them my humble services to be employed by them in any way they might find useful.

I have great regard for all members of the Congress High Command. Their sufferings and sacrifices have always commended my admiration and homage. But I am writing this letter to you as I find myself more near to you in my sentiments and feelings than to those of any one else.

Yours very sincerely,
Sardul Singh Caveeshar¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
14 October 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter dated 4 October 1947.

I received your earlier letters, but I had my hands full with the situation in Delhi and the Punjab.

There were all sorts of rumours about you, some of which even went to suggest that you were not alive. I am glad to know, however, that you are quite safe in Delhi.

I am much obliged to you for the kind references you have made about me and my colleagues. I am glad to know that you are prepared to throw your weight with the Congress, but I suggest that the best way to serve the Congress at this juncture would be for you to persuade your own colleagues and partymen to change their outlook and become true Congressmen.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sardar Sardul Singh Caveeshar
Imperial Hotel
New Delhi

¹ Sikh Congress leader of Punjab for several years; member of CWC

Lajpatrai Bhavan
Lahore
21 April 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I beg to enclose for your information and such action as you may deem advisable a copy of the statement issued by the Congress and the Panthic parties in the Punjab Legislative Assembly along with a copy of my covering letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Yours sincerely,
Bhim Sen Sachar¹

ENCLOSURE

Lahore
21 April 1947

Dear Panditji,

The enclosed statement has been issued jointly by me and Sardar Swaran Singh, the leader of the Punjab Assembly Panthic Party in the Punjab Legislative Assembly. The statement has the full support of members of the Congress Assembly Party and the Panthic Assembly Party. We shall feel very grateful if you would kindly bring this to the notice of His Excellency the Viceroy provided this suggestion meets with your approval. It appears to me that very early action in the matter is called for.

Yours sincerely,
Bhim Sen

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Vice President
Interim Government
New Delhi

¹Joined non-co-operation movement in 1921; Secretary, PCC, 1921; MLA, Punjab, 1939-45; member, CA of Pakistan, 1947; Finance Minister, Punjab, 1946-49; Chief Minister, Punjab, 1952-56; Governor of Orissa, 1956-57; Governor of Andhra Pradesh, 1959-62; High Commissioner to Ceylon

EXTRACT FROM JOINT STATEMENT

To restore responsible government in the province of the Punjab, we demand that as an interim and transitional arrangement, His Excellency the Governor-General should instal immediately two or three regional administrations with separate Ministers, under one Governor for the two or three zones of the existing province of the Punjab. We must make it plain that in the existing circumstances we are not prepared to co-operate with the Muslim League for forming a single Ministry for the whole of the Punjab.

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27 April 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 21st instant and its enclosures. The matter is receiving our close and careful consideration. The Viceroy has also been kept fully informed of the situation. He is visiting the Frontier Province tomorrow and on his return it may be possible to review the whole situation. It is difficult to isolate the Punjab question from the all-India political situation, but we know that the Punjab has its own peculiar problem which must be solved as quickly as possible. At the same time we have to take into account the repercussions of any solution for the Punjab that may be found on the rest of the country.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lala Bhim Sen Sachar
Punjab Assembly Congress Party
Lajpatrai Bhavan
Lahore

Camp New Delhi
15 June 1947

The Chairman
Central Parliamentary Board
New Delhi

Dear Sir,

The Governor of the Punjab has summoned both parts of the Punjab Assemblies on 23 June. Several decisions shall have to be taken now and I would request you to issue directions immediately regarding the following matters:

1. The procedure to be adopted by the party regarding moving of a resolution for a joint meeting to decide [whether] in case the Punjab is not partitioned the province ought to join the existing Indian Constituent Assembly.
2. Whether we should move such a resolution or move an amendment to a resolution moved by the League or oppose the League resolution, if any, which will presumably be for united Punjab joining the Pakistan Constituent Assembly.
3. Whether the East Punjab group should demand the partition of the province?

In my opinion the resolution regarding partition shall become necessary if the League resolution to the effect that in case of non-partition of the Punjab, the province should join the Pakistan Constituent Assembly, is adopted. In case our resolution [is] carried, I think we should say that there should be no partition and we should join the Indian Union.

Therefore detailed instructions be issued immediately or a representative or representatives of the Central Parliamentary Board should go personally to Lahore and hold meeting on 21st or 22nd and issue directions then.

4. As soon as the resolution about partition is passed prospective Cabinet and office-bearers of the party be nominated by the Parliamentary Board.

I may add here that the personnel of the members of the Congress Party in the East is far from satisfactory. There does

not seem to be any person amongst them who can shape and guide the policy of the Government.

5. The names for the Constituent Assembly would also be decided in the same meeting after the 23rd. In this connection I would also make the following suggestion that as the Constituent Assembly is to take the place of the Central Legislature, no such man as is a member of the provincial Assembly be nominated for the Constituent Assembly [in] preference of the Central Legislative Assembly.

6. The members of the prospective Cabinet be instructed to formulate their policy and to chalk out a detailed programme of work. They have to make selection of the personnel out of the services which are going to be partitioned.

7. A committee has to be appointed to watch, assist and supervise partition work.

8. As I have already stated in para 4 above, I would suggest that the Leader of the Eastern Punjab Assembly Congress Party and members of the prospective Cabinet should be nominated by the High Command. Knowing the capacity of members as I do, I may submit my humble opinion that democratic elections will not fully meet the necessity and potential contingencies of the present hour.

Before doing this the question of amalgamation of the Congress, Panthic and Unionist Parties should also be considered.

I may further suggest that in view of the stupendous and extremely important work before the Cabinet and its unprecedented nature, an adviser or advisory committee of non-members be appointed to help the Cabinet to discharge its extremely responsible and onerous duties involving far-reaching consequences.

If nothing stands in the way, the advisers may be officially appointed.

The members of the prospective Cabinet ought to be such as are possessed of vivid imagination, breadth of vision and determination to stand by what is right and just.

9. As regards the Western Punjab, the High Command should lay down instructions as to how the members of the Congress Party should behave as members of the Legislature.

One more question shall have to be decided both about the East and the West, i.e., whether any coalition has to be formed with the League.

The policy of rehabilitation of refugees and evacuees shall have also to be considered. The most important point about them is whether they should live in the West or move in the East. This also involves the question of protection and security of the minorities in the West.

10. The question of a site of the capital of the new province, the number of the ministers and parliamentary secretaries and some other appointments ought to be considered immediately or in the the same meeting.

I may also mention that the settlement with the League may not be a peaceful one. We ought to prepare for that emergency as well.

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava

PS.

What ought to be the basis of division of assets of the province? In what proportion they ought to be divided?

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New Delhi
5 September 1947

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

With reference to the talk we had about the completion of the East Punjab Ministry, I am writing to confirm that you should proceed on the basis of a ministry of seven and that the names which you have proposed are acceptable. The sooner you complete the ministry the better.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Prime Minister
East Punjab Government
Simla

New Delhi
1 October 1947

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

I am enclosing a letter which was given to me at Amritsar. I feel that we have a moral responsibility to see that private firms do not penalise their staff which has left Pakistan in distress. Could you kindly look into it? Ultimately, if you feel that there is need for it, some legislation can be put through to see that they get a satisfactory deal.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Jullundur

ENCLOSURE

Amritsar
(undated)

Respected Ministerji,

With greatest regard and reverence we the members of the staff of the Punjab National Bank have come over to this area from different Pakistan towns in greatest distress and quite a destitute state. We are all family men and are at present quite paupers. We have remained stuck to our posts there even at the risk of our lives and for the sake of the bank, to the last. The bank authorities do not listen to us. Will you please mediate and help us in getting back our security and provident fund or in gaining back our posts so that we may pull on with our families and thus breathe a sigh of relief?

Very faithfully yours,
Refugee staff of the
P.N. Bank, Amritsar

Refugees

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New Delhi
12 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

You will be interested to read the enclosed copies of D.O. letters which we have received from Desai, the Principal of the All-India Administrative Training School. As you know, we have lent the services of 40 probationers of that school to the East Punjab Government; five of them have been posted to Karnal and five to Jullundur. Some time ago I had asked Desai to get periodical reports from them so that we may know something of what is actually happening. The reports received from the two centres are quite revealing.

2. I am sending the report regarding Kurukshetra camp to Neogy. I do not know what we can do about Jullundur. If Gopichand comes here next week, I shall speak to him.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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17 York Road
New Delhi
12 October 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Thank you for your letter of the 12th enclosing copies of D.O. letters from Desai.

2. About Kurukshetra camp, it seems to me that a military set-up will be the best way of organising it. I asked General Bucher today if this was possible and he said that it was. Neogy also seems to be willing. We shall meet tomorrow in conference to consider this matter further.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
9 November 1947

My dear Neogy,

I have seen a copy of the note which Bakshi Tek Chand has sent to you regarding the West Punjab order [See enclosure] requiring the owners and managers of safe deposit vaults to resume work by 20 November 1947. I should be glad if you would kindly let me know what you propose doing about it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy
Minister for Relief and Rehabilitation
5 Hastings Road
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

All India Radio announced last night that the West Punjab Government has passed an order requiring owners and managers of all safe deposit vaults to resume work by 20 November 1947 failing which the West Punjab Government would take possession of the vaults.

In the existing conditions it does not seem possible for the owners and managers of these vaults and their staff to go and function at Lahore and other places in West Punjab and the NWFP. The managing director of one of the safe deposit companies went to Lahore some weeks ago and tried to open the vault but was prevented from doing so. Conditions do not appear to have improved since.

It is apprehended that this order, if carried out, will amount to virtual seizure of the contents of the deposit vaults. These contain jewellery and other valuable worth crores of rupees besides title deeds and other valuable securities. It is stated that the number of Muslim depositors is less than 5 per cent. If the vaults are taken possession of by Government and the lockers opened in the absence of the depositors there is grave danger of the contents being lost. The key of each locker is kept by the depositor and there is no record of their contents. The matter is of grave importance and urgency and should be taken up with the representatives of the two dominions.

The Advisory Committee has already made suggestions in this behalf and I understand that this was one of the matters to be considered in the conference between the two dominions.

Tek Chand
Chairman
Advisory Committee

The Hon'ble Shri K. C. Neogy

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New Delhi
9 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Thanks for your letter dated 9 November 1947 regarding the West Punjab order requiring the owners and managers of safe deposit vaults to resume work by 20 November 1947. We took up the matter immediately with the Prime Minister and he has sent a strong telegram to Pakistan lodging a protest against this measure.

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
10 November 1947

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your letter of 9 November 1947 regarding the West Punjab order requiring the owners and managers of safe deposit vaults to resume work by 20 November 1947.

2. Our experience of correspondence with the Pakistan Government should enable us to assume how our protest would be treated by them. I suggest that we should be ready with our plans in case our protest fails to achieve any results, as is most likely. Time is short because the last date is 20 November 1947.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy

108-D Model Town
Lahore
28 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have met you twice or thrice while I was minister of the Coalition Government in the Punjab. I am a Jat of Rohtak district. As you know, the Jat community is scattered all over the country and can be a source of great strength in the national struggle if there is proper cohesion in its ranks. The late Ch. Chhotu Ram had fully realised this and worked to this end for the whole of his life. He realised too that in the attainment of his ideal it was very essential that the Jat community should have an organ of its own. He therefore started to collect funds for starting a daily paper; but, alas! before he could finish this noble work the hand of death removed him from the scene of his activities. The Jat community, however, took up this work after his death and now we are in a position to start a paper by the name of Shamshir-i-Hind. The paper will be nationalist in outlook. Its main purpose would be to cement the great Jat community of India. The inaugural ceremony is to be performed on 13 April and it is the ardent desire of all the leaders of the community that a person of a dynamic personality like yourself should do this. I am accordingly approaching you with this request, and feel sure that you will very kindly agree in spite of your heavy engagements. The whole Jat community shall feel grateful if you will kindly make it convenient to come.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Lahri Singh

PS.

Kindly let me know at your earliest that you are coming so that the necessary preparations may be started.

2 April 1947

My dear Chaudhri Lahri Singh,

Many thanks for your letter of 28 March 1947 inviting me to the inaugural ceremony of your paper Shamshir-i-Hind. I much appreciate the feelings which inspire the invitation and would have done my best to comply with it, but as you are aware important discussions are going on and much preparatory work has to be done for the Constituent Assembly which is meeting on 28 April. These engagements hardly leave me any time for any unofficial engagements in Delhi itself. It is much more difficult for me to leave Delhi even for a day. In these circumstances I hope you will excuse me from complying with your very kind invitation. You know full well how much I feel for the Jat community and how much I should have liked to meet them, but I am afraid the fulfilment of my wish will still have to wait. At the same time, however, I convey my best wishes to the paper and hope that it will fulfil the mission which it has placed before it.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Chaudhri Lahri Singh
108-D, Model Town
Lahore

Lahore
9 July 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

As you are no doubt aware, now-a-days in the Punjab the Sikh movement (sponsored by Master Tara Singh) for the creation of a Punjabi-speaking province comprising the whole of Jullundur Division, Amritsar, and parts of Ambala Division is gaining ground. This will result in isolating the Haryana Prant, viz. districts of Rohtak, Karnal, Gurgaon and some parts of Hissar.

To propose further division of the truncated Punjab is definitely actuated by the sole desire of establishing Sikh hegemony in the Central Punjab. This move on the part of Sikh leaders cannot be justified in any way.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly permit a few of us in the Haryana Prant to wait upon you in the near future to explain our case verbally.

Yours sincerely,
Lahri Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
11 July 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 9 July 1947. I am very sorry that due to my preoccupations with the partition question it will not be possible for me to afford any time for a deputation, but I can assure you that at present there is no question of any division of the Eastern Punjab on the lines you have referred to.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Chaudhri Lahri Singh
Lahore

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Lahore
14 July 1947

My dear Sardar,

It was suggested to me that the members of the Assembly be exempted from the licences under the Arms Act. We may have to exempt even our voters. What ought to be the procedure? Will any resolution of the Assembly be necessary or a request from the Government would do?

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
18 July 1947

My dear Gopichand,

Please see your letter of 14 July 1947 regarding exemption of certain members of the Assembly and voters from the provisions of the Arms Act.

I do not think we can extend exemption to all the voters of the Assembly. You should not forget that in a couple of years' time all adult members of the population will have a right to vote. As regards Assembly members, I do not see any reason for exemption at all. They should be able to secure the required licence through the ordinary channel. I do not think the district authorities will ever refuse a licence to an MLA. In the present situation it seems much better to give arms under a licence than to widen the scope of exemptions.

I would, therefore, suggest that you drop this matter altogether.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbbhai Patel

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Lahore

CHAPTER X
SIND : INFLAMMATORY PROPAGANDA

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EXTRACT FROM SHRI J. V. GOHIL'S LETTER TO SARDAR PATEL DATED
10 FEBRUARY 1947

Even though we form 17% of the total population of the Hindus of Sind, we have had no representation on the Sind Assembly and on other local bodies of Sind, except Karachi, during all these past ten years of Sind provincial autonomy. Strange as it may seem, no concrete and persistent efforts have been made by those in authority and by those who adorned the Assembly benches by the help of the votes of these Harijans and on behalf of them, to safeguard and secure these fundamental democratic rights to these people. The result is that they are today nowhere directly represented by the Harijans themselves, as the Harijans of other provinces are. . . .

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New Delhi
13 February 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 10th instant along with a copy of your memorandum to the President of the Constituent Assembly.

The whole scheme of the Constituent Assembly is based on representation on a population basis. In the Government of India Act now in force, no recognition is given to the Scheduled Castes in Sind, nor is there any such provision for them in the Poona Pact which formed part of the Act subsequently. The elections to the Constituent Assembly have been made in accordance with the document of 16 May, and no alteration can be made by anybody in the matter. Your grievances can be represented by the representatives of the Scheduled Castes in other provinces who are

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S.C.-V-20

in a fairly large number in the Constituent Assembly. You may, therefore, prepare your memorandum and send it on to those representatives, or to the secretary of the Minority Committee.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

J. V. Gohil Esq.
President
Sind Provincial Nationalist Harijan Party
Karachi

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EXTRACTS

30 Jamshed Quarter
Karachi
16 August 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

I do not consider Mr. Nihchaldas¹ as a suitable person for this vacancy [in the Constituent Assembly]. He is a criminal lawyer who knows little of constitutional law. He is disliked by many Moslems and distrusted by many Hindus. At present he is likely to serve as a disruptive force within our party. In case he joins the Consembly and has to vacate his present seat, we shall have to fight a by-election under unfavourable conditions. Dr. Choithram² [Gidwani] is neither a lawyer nor a parliamentarian.

Bhai Pratap is a friend of mine but I think he would be able to do justice as a member of the Pak [Pakistan] Central Assembly if not as constitution-maker. He has wide social contacts among both the communities. Last time he was refused a ticket for the provincial Assembly for inadequate reasons. Yet he has remained loyal to the Congress and is one of the most active founders of the would-be Sind Hindu University.

Yours sincerely,
[N. R.] Malkani³

¹ Nihchaldas C. Vazirani: Advocate of Karachi; minister in Allah Bux Cabinet in Sind; independent in politics

² Congress leader of Sind; President, Sind PCC before Independence; chief spokesman of Sind in Congress organisation

³ Constructive Gandhian worker devoted to Harijan uplift and propagation of khadi; member, Rajya Sabha for one term

18 August 1947

My dear Malkani,

I have received your letter of the 16th instant. Perhaps you are not aware of the fact that Mr. Kripalani, the Congress President, has become the Chairman of the Parliamentary Board since his appointment as Congress President. The selection for the nomination for the seat in the Constituent Assembly, therefore, rests with him and you must, therefore, write to him and not to me. I have nothing to say about the merits of the respective individuals referred to in your letter as I have nothing to do with the selection.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Prof. N. R. Malkani
Karachi

Caxton House
Annie Besant Road
Karachi
10 February 1947

Dear Sardarji,

Every afternoon for the last four days I have been anxiously on the lookout for a letter from you in answer to mine of 2 February. On account of the constitutional discussions now going on in Delhi, you must have been too busy to write.

Anyhow here is the latest. Our proprietors have at last decided to part with the Daily Gazette to Yusuf Haroon who flew this afternoon to Delhi for final talks with Liaquat Ali. Their excuse, I think, is going to be that they find it difficult to cope with "increasing labour trouble!"

In all probability the ownership may change hands before 31 March. I am getting a little fidgety. Have you been able to take up the matter? Not only myself but also Mr. Narayan

Juvalekar, the general manager of this paper, will be glad to change over.

I trust you will find it possible to send me a line.

Yours sincerely,
M. S. M. Sharma¹

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
13 February 1947

My dear Sharma,

I have received your letter of the 10th instant.

I am not interested in Mr. Jinnah's deal about the Daily Gazette. I do not think that will make any difference in Sind politics. Much will depend upon the work that Congressmen will put in by their spirit of sacrifice and service in the province. No amount of propaganda will help, for there is a vacuum at the bottom. If in Sind you find political life unsuitable and journalism is in a degraded position, you had better leave the province for good and find scope for your activities elsewhere. I do not like to mix myself up with this affair at all.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri M. S. M. Sharma
Caxton House
Annie Besant Road
Karachi

¹ Editor, Daily Gazette, Karachi

New Delhi
23 April 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am enclosing for your perusal a copy of the letter which has been forwarded to me by the Leader of the Congress Party in the Sind Assembly. The letter was written to him by another MLA of Sind and it is typical, in so far as it is subjective, of the attitude of responsible leaders of minorities in the Muslim majority areas. In so far as it is descriptive of the speeches and incidents referred to therein I have no doubt about its authenticity. A particularly objectionable feature is the speech of Pir Illahi Bux,¹ one of the Sind Ministers, who has, under the cloak of ministerial protection without its attendant responsibilities, appealed to the baser instincts of his audience.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Viscount Mountbatten of Burma

ENCLOSURE

COPY OF LETTER FROM SGT. MADHAVDAS SHIVALOMAL,
MLA, TO PROF. GHANSHYAM DATED 11-4-1947

Thanks for your kind letter. After the Muslim League conference the situation has deteriorated. Very nasty speeches were made. Especially speeches by Mr. Kazi Isa of Quetta and Mr. Unis and two other Punjabi Leaguers roused the feelings of the masses to such an extent that the audience actually wept hearing heart-rending accounts of Bihar Muslim massacres. Some of the Muslim speakers told the audience to keep 'heavy and iron-rimmed lathis' if they could not get guns and revolvers. All the Congress leaders, specially Nationalist Muslims, were abused right and left.

Then they held two meetings of prominent Muslim sardars and zamindars in camera where it is learnt they were asked to follow orders of the Muslim League faithfully in future etc.

I certainly feel that these series of conferences that are being held in Sind are not with good intentions. I have taken full notes of these speeches

¹ Muslim League leader of Sind; minister in League Ministry

covering about 80 pages. Fortunately the Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Keith, is a good administrator. I met him yesterday and he is fully aware of all these poisonous speeches. Possibly he has informed the Government of all these speeches and their reaction. The police officials were made to sell the tickets of the Muslim League conference. Deputy Superintendent of Police and other police officials were given prominent place on the stage reserved for distinguished visitors. All the bad characters have been enlisted as Muslim National Guards, who are using very filthy language in the presence of Hindus, actually abusing them. Hindus are feeling very panicky and suffering all these humiliations with patience. Some of the rich Hindu families have left Jacobabad for Rajputana States for the time being. Two days back nine prominent Hindus including myself and Mr. Mathuradas received threatening letters. I enclose actual one such letter for your perusal.

Mr. Satramdas, Hindustan correspondent, has sent a fairly detailed account of the speeches to Hindustan but it was drastically censored. I have given an English translation of these speeches to the Deputy Commissioner. Even Pir Illahi Bux did not refrain himself from being carried over by communal madness. He said, "Sind Muslims are ready to wage fourth War of Panipat to prove their fitness and readiness to get Pakistan. I am proud Jacobabad district which is the frontier and full of brave people will be in the forefront in that jehad."

It is not improbable that arms are being imported from the Punjab and Baluchistan borders because all zamindars of this district own lands and relatives in those areas and are politically important citizens of Kalat Estate as well as Dera Ismail Khan (Punjab) areas. Even the DSP had called me asking me to be on guard as he felt my life was in danger. I assure you that I am not afraid of these threats and I have been to Kandkot from the 5th to 8th instant and arranged for the lodging and boarding of Congress Seva Dal volunteers. Keeping in view the unhealthy atmosphere, I am thinking of cutting short the period of camp. I am writing a fairly detailed account of the present situation in the district for Hindustan and other English daily papers.

I feel you [should] come for two days here to know everything personally and at the same time attend the Congress Seva Dal camp at Kandkot.

PS.

I have just received information that a young Hindu Punjabi goldsmith has been butchered at Kandkot and his mutilated body [was] found in a Muslim graveyard yesterday. I am awaiting further details.

New Delhi
27 April 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you for your letter of 23 April enclosing a copy of a letter from the Leader of the Congress Party in the Sind Assembly. I have asked the Governor whether he has any information about the objectionable speeches by Pir Illahi Bux.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Viceroy's Camp
Simla
7 May 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

As I wrote to you on 27 April, I asked the Governor of Sind whether he had any information about the objectionable speeches made by Pir Illahi Bux.

2. The Governor tells me that the Pir is not a very notable speaker, but that he does at times make rash and thoughtless speeches. After the Jacobabad conference, at which a number of objectionable speeches were made, the Governor took the matter up with the Premier and impressed on all his Ministers the necessity for exercising restraint and caution in their public speeches. As a result, the Premier, accompanied by Pir Illahi Bux and Pirzada Abdus Sattar, has recently left on a tour of Hyderabad district to impress on everybody the need to preserve the peace and to avoid anything which would lead to Hindu-Muslim conflict.

3. A certain number of speeches at this conference were made not by Sindhi speakers but by others from outside the province. The Governor also took up this matter with the Premier who took strong action, particularly in regard to a refugee from Bihar, Maulvi Abdul Qudus who had made a very objectionable speech.

He asked him to issue a statement denouncing what he was reported to have said and in case you have not seen it I attach a copy from the Sind Observer of Sunday, 27 April.

4. I had, as you know, impressed on the Governor when he was in Delhi the absolute need for maintaining peace and avoiding oppression of minorities. I am therefore particularly glad to draw your attention to the fact that the Governor handled the matter immediately in this way, some time before the receipt of my letter to him.

Yours sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

Maulana Qudus has issued the following statement to the Press:

I was thunderstruck and shocked to see some articles in the newspapers of Sind, apprehending breach of the peace in Sind and accusing some responsible Muslim leaders here. Such an irresponsible step is liable to make the atmosphere explosive. Therefore, I consider it my bounden duty to warn the Muslim public of Sind against such baseless propaganda; and I repeat again what I have already declared and stressed in my public speeches delivered throughout the province, that the "revenge of inhuman atrocity in one place or province on the innocent people of another place or province is un-Islamic, a great sin, crime and also rebellion against the holy teachings of the Quran."

I appeal to the Muslims of Sind to remain peaceful and to regard the recent Islamic appeal by Quaid-i-Azam to preserve peace, tranquillity and good name of the only peaceful province of Sind. I also appeal to the Hindu public and Press of Sind to be wise enough and feel their human duty to welcome and sympathise with the Bihar refugees instead of putting blame on the homeless and helpless people of Bihar who did not come here for mere change in the high and hilly places of Sind.

Karachi
6 May 1947

Dear Sir,

I am, with due respects, sending you my note on the "Congress decision about Sind" for your perusal.

Yours sincerely,
Jethmal Parsram

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT

It was the Congress that gave consent to the separation of Sind from Bombay; those of us who agreed to this did it on the basis that we being part and parcel of India had nothing to fear; and now we are literally being left in the lurch and separated from India itself. After the separation of Sind in 1936 the reins of the Sind Congress Party have been more or less tightly held by the Congress High Command. Now it was Maulana Azad, again it was Sardar Vallabhbhai in whose hands the local command has been as wax. Then it was Pandit Jawaharlal whose stupendous urge honoured all the Sind Hindus and elected none but Congressmen. Again it was Sardar Vallabhbhai who personally sat down in Karachi and formed a coalition party between the Congress Hindus who form a minority and a very small minority of Muslim MLAs, a policy which is responsible for the many troubles for which we are suffering, and which again is the cause of the present dark reactionarism witnessable in every action of the Muslim Leaguers in the Sind Legislature.

Now at this very moment when we need the greatest consolation and help comes the strangest of news that the Congress High Command has decided to throw up the Sind minorities as hot—or ice-cold—potatoes and leave them in the lurch without even caring to have their views in this matter which affects their very existence.

12 May 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 6th instant and its enclosure entitled "Sind Betrayed."

According to you, the Sarva Sind Hindu Panchayat organisation already exists. May I know what has prevented it from functioning and ousting the Congress from the field? You seem to have written this note in anger, and when a man is in anger, he loses sense and reason. Why do you blame the Congress for doing what it considers to be proper? It is no use your saying "Sind betrayed." Nobody can betray Sind except the Sindhis themselves, and I do not think that Sind Congressmen who have made so many sacrifices have done so in order to betray their own province.

You say that hitherto you "have been sitting dumb like a fool," but evidently you are now talking like a fool. So you had better remain silent, as you used to. Instead of losing your temper and getting angry against Congressmen, you had better start doing what you think to be proper.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Jethmal Parsram
Jamshed Quarters 120
Karachi

Mahatma Gandhi Road
Karachi
8 May 1947

Revered Sardar Sahib,

As directed by Dr. Choithram P. Gidwani, president, SPCC, I am sending you herewith a letter which I, as secretary of the Sind Assembly Congress Party, have addressed to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Sind, and copies whereof I have

sent to the Premier of Sind and the Minister for Law and Order. The passages from Agha Badruddin's letter quoted by me are samples of the virulent communal propaganda that is being carried on incessantly in Sind both on the platform and in the Press.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
Parsram V. Tahilramani
MLA

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM SHRI PARSRAM V. TAHILRAMANI'S LETTER
5 MAY 1947 TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY, SIND

The cumulative effect of the utterances, resolutions and demonstrations at the three conferences that have already been held has been to cause a serious apprehension in the minds of the minority communities in Sind not only about security of their lives, property and honour in the immediate future, but about their ultimate future as well in this province.

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF AGHA BADRUDDIN AHMED,
DEPUTY SPEAKER OF SIND LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

It is but a just demand of your Muslim brethren in Muslim minority provinces that in one hand you should have the holy Quran as the Light on your path and have in the other hand a sword. Those Muslims are anxiously and restlessly straining their ears to hear the sound of the hoofs of galloping horses, the rattling of the swords and the sky-rending slogans of "Allah-o-Akbar" of the Muslim crusaders.

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13 May 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 8th instant with its accompaniments. If such speeches are made by the Deputy Speaker of the Sind Legislative Assembly, you should give notice of a motion of no-confidence to remove the Ministry in the next session of the provincial Assembly and also invite attention of the Governor

who is ultimately responsible for the peace and security of the province. I thank you for your sending me this.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Parsram V. Tahilramani, MLA
Secretary, Sind Assembly
Congress Party
Karachi

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Victoria Road
Karachi
15 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

On my return from Delhi last week I was flooded with questions from various Hindu leaders and friends whether Bapu and yourself advised Dr. Choithram that all Hindus should migrate from Sind at once as there was no other alternative. I told them that I had not consulted either Bapu or yourself on this matter but knowing the views of both of your goodselves and having come in close contact with both of you I without contradiction state that Bapu could not have said so. I was therefore very pleased to read your message as well as of Bapu's that we ought to be brave and face the situation and if we cannot do it non-violently to face it violently but never to be coward or "run away." Moreover Bapu has sent a message through Bhai Partap that if Hindus have as a last resort to migrate they should all go together by giving notice to Government and also not to forget other non-Hindus viz. Parsis and Christians. All these have gladdened the hearts of all of us. I may here inform you that except few Amils, I mean about three to four hundred big families, nobody wants to migrate. Staunch Hindus also are opposed to it and they have welcomed your message. I may here inform you that Parsis and Christians have great stakes in Karachi. Parsis pay the largest amount of taxes to the Municipal Corporation, so Indian Christians to a good extent.

With kind regards and thanking you again for giving right and good advice to Hindus,

Yours sincerely,
R. K. Sidhwa¹

¹ Congressman of Sind; member of Karachi Municipal Corporation and Provincial Legislative Assembly

PS.

I may here inform you that in the meeting Dr. Choithram had called for this purpose nearly three times, he had invited only selected Hindus and other Congressmen were left out.

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Camp Birla House
Mussoorie
23 May 1947

My dear Sidhwa,

I have received your letter of the 15th instant. I am surprised to hear that Dr. Choithram informed the Hindus in Sind that I had advised them through him to migrate from the province. I can never be guilty of such a cowardly advice. Sind Hindus are not a small minority, nor are they without any resources. They will have full support from the rest of India in case of persecution or in case of real need. I do not see how Dr. Choithram could have given such advice in my name. I am sure the non-Hindus, and particularly the Parsis, will give a good account of themselves as an intelligent and resourceful minority to do everything possible to secure their just and legitimate safeguards. They will also not hesitate in contributing their mite in the advancement of the province in which they live. The present communal atmosphere is a passing phase and is bound to end with the solution of the political deadlock. I regret to find that Dr. Choithram did not invite Congressmen in the meeting referred to by you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbai Patel

R. K. Sidhwa Esq., MLA
President, Local Self-Government
Institute (Sind), Victoria Road
Karachi

Sheikha Building
Mahatma Gandhi Road
Karachi
15 May 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

2. There is one matter which is urgent as far as Sind is concerned. You know that Gurkhas wear 'khukries' (small daggers or big knives) as ceremoniously and religiously as Sikhs wear kirpans. No action has been taken anywhere in India under the Arms Act against any Gurkha for carrying a khukri. But recently Sind police [have] seized two khukries from two Gurkhas. This has caused resentment amongst Gurkhas. It appears that the only way is the issue of a notification by the Governor-General under Section 27 of the Indian Arms Act exempting khukries on the same lines as kirpans.

With respects,

I am
Yours sincerely,
Nihchaldas C. Vazirani

Camp Mussoorie
21 May 1947

My dear Nihchaldas,

I have received your letter of the 15th instant.

You have compared the Gurkhas' right to keep khukris with the Sikhs' right to wear kirpans. Perhaps there is considerable difference. One has a religious significance; the other is perhaps a right based on custom to a warlike race which has no religious significance at all. I agree the sentiment in both cases may be similar and equally strong. The Arms Act provides exemption for the Sikhs since many years. It is difficult at this stage to provide for any exemption for any particular class in the Indian Arms Act. But your suggestion will be carefully considered. You know the hostility of the Muslim League towards the Gurkhas in general.

I am delighted to have your reassuring message about the position of Hindus in Sind. I am glad to hear that the University Act is being suitably amended.

I am afraid many people suffering from a defeatist mentality have been creating a demoralising atmosphere in Sind, but I fully appreciate your attitude which deserves to be adopted by all the public workers of the minority community in Sind. Self-confidence, courage and unity can only save the minorities in provinces where they will have to put up a hard fight to secure their existence and fair play. I wish you success in your endeavour.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Nihchaldas C. Vazirani Esq., MLA
Mahatma Gandhi Road
Karachi

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Maitri
Foujdari Road
Hyderabad (Sind)
17 May 1947

Revered Sardar,

You might have read in the papers about the negotiations that have been going on for some time with reference to the Sind University Act, between the Sind Government and representatives of the minority communities, including the Congress.

The main points on which a compromise was being attempted are as follows:

- (1) While if the Muslim League party is so insistent on retaining the 70-30 proportion of Muslims and non-Muslims in the Senate, it may do so provided this principle of communal proportion is removed from the various constituencies that have to elect members to the Senate. After the elections are over the Chancellor may, if he deems it necessary, nominate a sufficient number of Muslims to bring up their number to 70% of the total.
- (2) Clause 35 banning all institutions from continuing or seeking affiliation to any other Indian university to be deleted.

(3) As there is a faculty of Islamic studies already provided for, a new faculty to be added for the purpose of the study of Hindu religion and philosophy, Sanskrit etc.

(4) The powers of the Senate over the Academic Council and the Syndicate to be reduced and brought in line with the practice in other universities.

(5) A new clause to be introduced for the safeguard of the cultural interests of the Hindus and other minorities in the province. The actual wordings of this clause as settled between the Government and ourselves before Mr. Jinnah's message was received were: "There shall be constituted a statutory advisory board consisting of 7 members, 4 of whom shall be Hindus and 3 belonging to other minority communities. Such a board shall be elected by the members of the minority communities on the Senate. No question affecting the cultural interests of any minority community shall be taken by any university authority without consultation with this Board. Such a board may address any university authority on any matter concerning the cultural interests of a minority community. In case of dispute the question whether any matter affects the cultural interests of a minority community shall be decided by the Chancellor who, in case of doubt, may consult the High Court.

I have stated in brief some of the main points of the controversy and am posting copies of the correspondence that has passed between myself and the Minister of Education. If you want any more details, kindly inform me or Shri Jairamdas [Doulatram] and we shall be [glad] to send you all the particulars.

With regards,

I am,
Respectfully yours,
Pratap Dialdas¹

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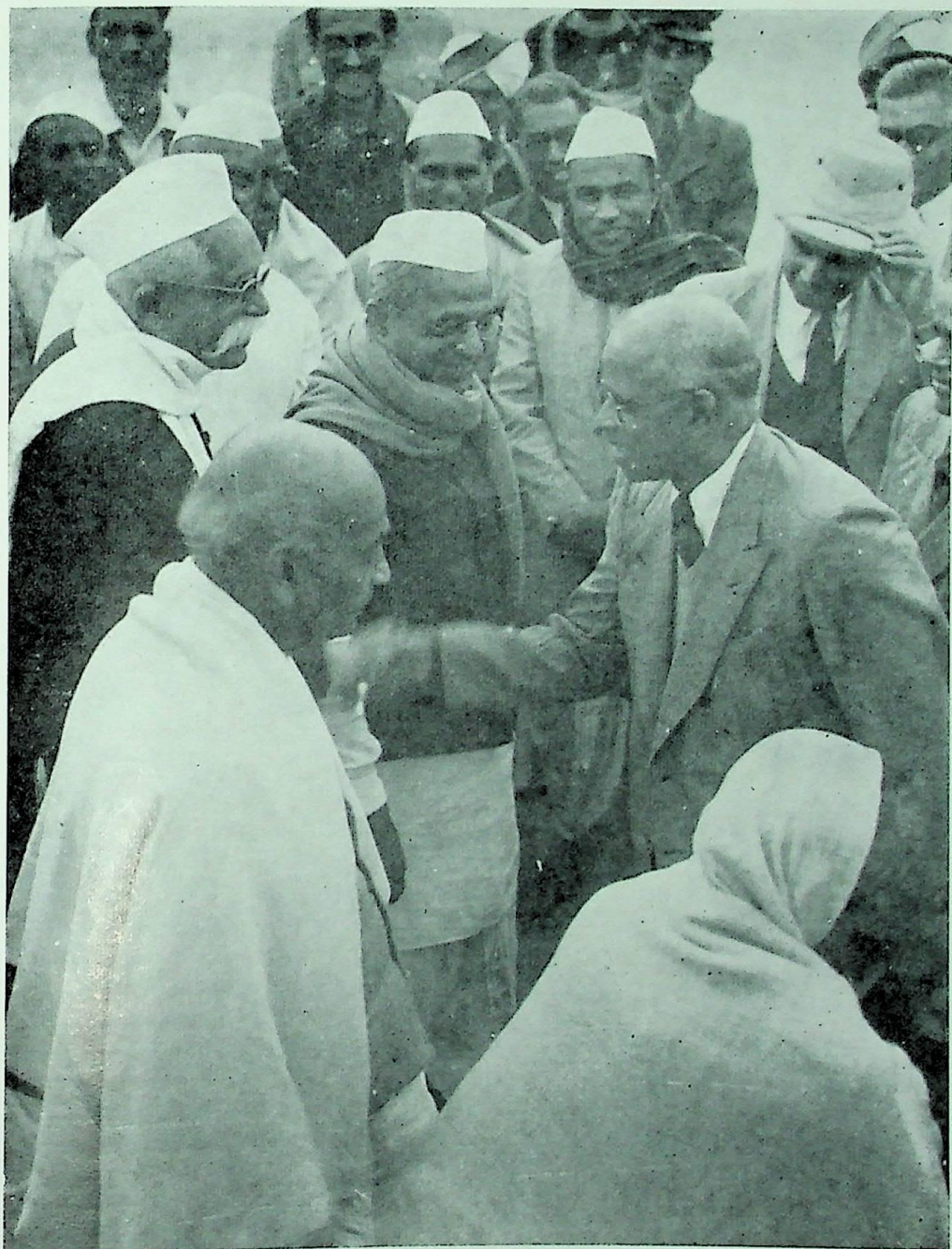
Mussoorie
22 May 1947

Dear Bhai Pratap,

I have received your letter of the 17th instant.

I have also had a letter from Shri Nihchaldas Vazirani. I understood from his letter that a settlement has already been

¹ Sindhi leader



SARDAR PATEL, WHO VISITED NAGPUR IN DECEMBER 1947, SEEN WITH
PREMIER SHUKLA AND V. P. MENON, AMONG OTHERS, AT A RECEPTION



FLANKED BY ORISSA GOVERNOR KATJU AND PREMIER MAHTAB, SARDAR PATEL REVIEWS
A GUARD OF HONOUR ON HIS ARRIVAL IN CUTTACK

made, and I saw a Press report also to that effect. If you have been able to settle the objectionable features satisfactorily, it would be a very good thing. I should like to know what is the actual position now.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Pratap Dialdas
Maitri
Foujdari Road
Hyderabad (Sind)

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EXTRACTS

Hyderabad (Sind)
1 June 1947

Revered Sardar,

Since I wrote to you last, the following new developments have taken place. Mr. Jinnah advised the Revenue Minister and the Vice-Chancellor, whom he had called to Delhi, not to agree to any amendments in the University Act at this stage. This came as a great surprise to every one and brought all further negotiations for a compromise to an end. The reasons for Mr. Jinnah's interference are inscrutable. Apparently, Messrs. Khuhro¹ and [Yusuf] Haroon's² faction within the Muslim League party, which is deadly opposed to the Ministerial group, had something to do with it or else some greater policy embracing the fate of minorities within the Muslim majority area prompted him to take this attitude.

However, the resentment caused at the breakdown of the negotiations in this manner has achieved one good result. Various minority groups and interests find themselves absolutely united and by now the managements of all the private colleges in the province and many private schools have decided to keep out of Sind University and remain affiliated to Bombay University. This unexpected unity among the minority communities is already

¹ Khan Bahadur M.A. Khuhro: Muslim Leaguer who was charged with murder of Allah Bux, Premier of Sind, but acquitted on final appeal; opposed intrusion of Punjabis into Sind politics and championed Sind for Sindhis

² Succeeded father Abdullah Haroon as member, Central Assembly

telling on the authorities of the new university. I shall take this opportunity to beg you to use your influence with the Bombay Government and the university and [see to it that] the affiliation of our institutions continues. Shri Nihchaldas, Prof. Malkani and myself have seen by now several authorities of the Government and the university including the Premier, the Vice-Chancellor and Mr. Mavalankar,¹ who all have promised to do their utmost but all the same a word from you would go a long way to reassure us.

From what I have observed, the relations of the Ministers with each other are getting more and more strained and may soon reach breaking point. As the possibility of a separate State within Pakistan gets nearer, these differences will grow more acute, and mutual fears, doubts, generations-old family feuds and personal ambitions will come out on the surface. It is already rumoured that Yusuf Haroon is thinking of retiring from the Central Assembly and coming into the provincial one and trying to capture the Premiership. Khuhro is fretting more and more at the leadership of Ghulam Hussain² who, he believes, has been imposed on the province, in spite of the opposition from the Muslim League Party, through an intrigue between the Governor and Mr. Jinnah. Any of these factions including Mr. Ghulam Hussain would welcome an alliance with the Hindus in order to overthrow their opponents, provided their High Command allowed them a coalition with the Congress Party. I have reason to believe that some of them even now might be trying at Delhi to secure such a permission. How far they would succeed I cannot say, but, as far [as] we are concerned, I feel we should keep ourselves intact and out of these intrigues, leaving them to settle between themselves; and when it becomes possible, we should throw our lot with that faction which commands the greatest following and support from their own party and the community.

With regards,

Respectfully yours,
Pratap Daldas

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

¹General Secretary, 36th Indian National Congress, Ahmedabad, 1921; Speaker, Bombay Assembly; President, Central Assembly, 1946-52; first Speaker of Lok Sabha

²First Premier of Sind when it separated from Bombay Presidency

10 June 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 1st instant. Since then I find that the Senate has been formed and all hopes for making any alterations in that have disappeared.

2. You have suggested the possibility of a coalition or of joining hands with [the faction which enjoys the greatest following]. That can only be possible if there are any definite proposals formed and we are able to judge the merits of such proposals. Things have progressed much further since you wrote to me your letter and we must await further developments.

You may keep me informed of that.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Pratap Dialdas
Hyderabad (Sind)

EXTRACTS

Sheikha Building
Mahatma Gandhi Road
Karachi
24 July 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

My personal view is that we should feel that Sind is as good a land of ours as of Muslims and we are entitled to all privileges to which Muslims are entitled and that we should conduct ourselves as citizens entitled to equal rights.

We should however realise that in a democratic state majority voice prevails. We should start with a sincere feeling of co-operation and when, if at all, the Muslim community as such practises oppression, we should put up opposition and agitate.

I must say that so far Sind Muslims, as a community, have not oppressed Hindus. There have happened a few isolated

instances and the acts and utterances of some of the Ministers are highly objectionable. Those we are exposing. But the main fact remains that no communal lawlessness has taken place anywhere in Sind, in spite of the fact that Biharis and Punjabis have done their worst to incite Sind Muslims. Owing to the Pakistan Central Government being here in Karachi, we have to be cautious of Punjabi and Bengali Muslims. We should organise ourselves, unite and face the present situation and demand and obtain adequate safeguards for the minorities. If a sincere offer comes for co-operation in carrying on the administration of the province, we should co-operate.

Do kindly give us your clear guidance.

There are coming Pakistan celebrations. What should we do? What should be our attitude towards the Muslim League flag in case that flag is adopted as the State flag without consultation with the minority communities? Our representation to the Governor-General regarding the Land Mortgage Bill is pending. Now Jinnah would be the Governor-General. Should we go and see him? Should we represent even our other grievances to him, specially unjust treatment to minorities? In short, should we be realists and conduct ourselves with self-respect but at the same time as residents of a new State and do everything possible for the protection of minority rights?

I am,
Yours sincerely,
Nihchaldas C. Vazirani

CHAPTER XI
UP'S PROBLEMS GALORE

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New Delhi
31 January 1947

My dear Pantji,

I am sending you a Press cutting about pictures of police atrocities in 1942, which were apparently exhibited at the Congress exhibition which was opened by you at Benares [now Banaras] on 27 January.

2. If the report is correct, I am surprised that you were in any way associated with the exhibition of those paintings. The punishment of persons who were concerned with the 1942 atrocities is quite a different matter, and it is open to provincial Governments, if they so desire, to deal with official misdemeanour in that connection. But the caricaturing of official activities in the manner reported in the Press at a time when we are in office is open to serious objection. This is likely to affect the morale of the police force which in the present emergency can hardly be considered proper. It is also likely to agitate the public mind against the services. For obvious reasons, this also must be avoided if administrative efficiency is to be maintained in these difficult times. The fact that the UP Ministry was so largely represented at the time of the exhibition is also bound to create a great deal of uneasiness amongst officers and rank of the force.

3. It is difficult to see how matters can be remedied at this stage, but I only hope that the effect of this exhibition will not be so serious.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit G. B. Pant
Prime Minister of UP
Lucknow

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM THE NATIONAL CALL, DELHI,
DATED 29 JANUARY 1947

Benares
27 January

Five life-size paintings of the atrocities committed by police on Congressmen in the August 1942 movement constitute one of the attractions for the crowds at the Congress exhibition which Premier Govind Ballabh Pant opened at Benares tonight.

In the first picture, a naked Congressman is shown tied to a tree and a policeman is shown whipping him while a crowd is sitting on a bough in protest.

The second picture depicts a policeman holding a child by one foot to drop it into a bonfire while another policeman is beating the child's parents.

The third picture shows a policeman holding an enceinte Congress woman by the head while another policeman is shown kicking her in the stomach.

The fourth painting depicts two policemen dragging a Congress woman by the hair on a highway.

The last picture shows a Congressman sitting in a pool of blood while two policemen are torturing him. A British officer is shown directing the torture.

Mr. Raghunath Singh, president of the District Congress Committee, described the pictures to Pandit Pant, Babu Sampurnanand, Mr. N. A. Sherwani and Mr. W. M. Ibrahim, Ministers of the UP, and the large gathering present.—API.

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Lucknow
8 February 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of 31 January. Being preoccupied with the sessions of the legislature, I could not write to you earlier. I expect to be at Delhi on the 16th and hope to have the opportunity of meeting you then.

The report that you have seen about the paintings is substantially correct. As you may be remembering, Rajaji went to

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Benares on the 27th for the silver jubilee of the Kashi Vidyapith. I am closely associated with that institution and along with some of my colleagues was there on that day. While I was at Delhi, I think on the 25th of January, I was asked by Sri Prakasa¹ to open this exhibition at Benares. He thought that as I had to be there for the function of the Vidyapith I could conveniently do so. Some other friends also approached me for this purpose. The exhibition was organised under the auspices of the leading Congressmen of the place. I did not foresee any untoward or embarrassing developments and agreed to meet their wishes. Ordinarily, an exhibition is an innocent affair. I had no knowledge of these paintings even when I opened the exhibition and delivered my inaugural speech. Only after I had entered the inner court my attention was drawn to the pictures that had been prepared for the occasion. I felt annoyed, but it was too late to mend matters. Still before leaving Benares I pleaded with my friends and requested them to take appropriate steps so that such scenes might not be displayed there. I think they did make such attempts as they could, but presumably without success. In the circumstances, there was nothing more that could possibly be done. I hope you will appreciate the situation. I think if the matter had been taken up seriously at the stage at which I came to know of it and formal measures had been adopted only greater excitement would have been caused and public attention would have been drawn towards what has otherwise, I think, received little notice.

The letter about AIR has arrived and a formal reply will be soon reaching there before the 15th. The proposals seem to me to be fair and reasonable.

Trust this finds you well.

Yours sincerely,
G. B. Pant

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

NB.

Trust you have seen the official letter from this Government about the Director of Intelligence Bureau.

G. B. P.

¹ Educationist, journalist and politician; member, AICC, 1918-45; Secretary, UPCC, 1928-34; General Secretary, Congress, 1929-31; MLA (Central), 1934 and 1945; member, CA, 1946; Indian High Commissioner in Pakistan, 1947-49; Commerce Minister in Nehru Cabinet; successively Governor of Assam, Madras and Bombay

1 Queen Victoria Road
New Delhi
21 March 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

The Honourable Raja Yuvraj Dutta Singh of Oel, Member of the Council of State, and some other friends from Oudh have seen me in connection with the proposal regarding the abolition of the zamindari system. Their desire is that before any final decision regarding the form of legislation is taken they should be given an opportunity of having a discussion with the Congress so that their points of view may also be fully considered. The matter has been under consideration of the provincial Governments but I do not think it is at the same stage in all the provinces and I do not know if any proposals have been formulated in the United Provinces. I have advised them to see you and to suggest that either the Parliamentary Committee of the Congress or the Working Committee should take steps to get the proposals from the province and hear what the zamindars have to say before finally giving its approval to the provincial proposals and before legislation is undertaken. I understand there are certain other measures which have already been either placed before the Legislature or are under contemplation which will have effect on the position of the zamindars. I hope you will kindly give them time so that they may place their point of view before you.

Yours sincerely,
Rajendra Prasad

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
22 March 1947

My dear Rajen Babu,

Many thanks for your letter of the 21st instant which was brought to me by Hon'ble Raja Yuvraj Dutta Singh, Babu Gaya Prasad Singh and Mr. Akhtar Husain.

At the time they came, I was very busy, and so I could not see them.

I have already resigned from the Parliamentary Board, and Acharya Kripalani is now the chairman. It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to meet those gentlemen or to discuss this matter with them. It would be best, I think, to refer them to the chairman of the Parliamentary Board, Acharya Kripalani. But if you want me to see them, I will certainly see them.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad
New Delhi

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New Delhi
23 April 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 21st instant. It is regrettable that the affairs in the United Provinces are not going on well and the Congress Assembly Party appears to be divided. We are passing through a very critical period and it behoves every Congressman to do his utmost to strengthen the Congress organisation and unity in its ranks. We are sure to lose what we have very nearly gained after a prolonged struggle involving considerable sacrifices and sufferings of many Congressmen. I do not know why you are all exercised so much but if you want to see me you can come next Sunday and get in touch with me and I will be able to give you time.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Charan Singh, MLA
Parliamentary Secretary (Revenue)
Civil Secretariat
Lucknow (UP)

New Delhi
14 May 1947

My dear Pantji,

We have received information that the All-India Railway-men's Federation would be meeting in Gorakhpur on 5 and 6 June this year. There is a likelihood of some trouble at the meeting because a determined attempt would probably be made by the Communists to capture the Federation and secure its support for their projected idea of a railway strike. We have also information that they might resort to violence to secure their end.

2. Apart from these considerations, you must be aware of the formation of the Indian National Trade Union Congress which is bound to be regarded by the Communists as inimical to their interests. The Socialists, except Pandit Harihar Nath Shastri¹ of Cawnpore, have not been able to make up their mind to join the INTUC. They will probably end up by keeping their separate identity and not joining either the INTUC or the Communist-dominated organisation. It is, therefore, likely that those developments would bring about further trouble during the time that the Federation proceedings are being held.

3. In these circumstances, I think, sufficient precautions to ensure peace during the deliberations of the conference should be taken. You might as well keep an eye not only on Gorakhpur itself but also the surrounding areas.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant

Nainital
13 June 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I know you are very busy these days with a number of problems of the greatest importance to the future happiness and

¹ Leading Congressman and labour leader of Cawnpore (now spelled Kanpur); was associated with Indian National Trade Union Congress

prosperity of the country. I would not have encroached upon your time at a time like this but for the feeling that the question to which I am inviting your attention is also one of great importance and likely to grow in importance in the near future. I refer to the Communist problem. This party is becoming an all-India menace. Its activities in Madras have received wide notoriety but it is gaining strength in other provinces also. Labour is increasingly turning towards it and the dissensions in the ranks of non-Communist labour leaders, which have been heightened by the formation of the NTUC, are providing it with a heaven-sent opportunity. It will leave no stone unturned to bring about a general strike and do other things likely to embarrass Central and provincial Governments, at a time when they will need all the strength available to them for carrying out those immediate purposes which the assumption of power from alien hands makes necessary. That is how they hope to ditch into power.

An all-India policy is certainly called for; what that policy should be can best be decided by you in consultation with the Premiers and Home and Labour Ministers of the provinces, on the basis of the facts of the situation. The partial information in possession of each province will, when co-ordinated with the rest, give a complete picture of the strength, the objectives and the tactics of the party and indicate the policy to be adopted to meet the danger.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sampurnanand

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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18 June 1947

Dear Sampurnanand,

I have received your letter of the 13th inst.

I agree that the Communist menace is growing and the problem is becoming more difficult. It was with the object of counteracting their influence that we organised a separate movement known as the NTUC a month ago. Unfortunately, our Socialist friends took a different attitude and instead of joining this organisation decided to keep out of both. Our object was to isolate the present Trade Union Congress which is controlled

entirely by the Communists. Harihar Nath Shastri tried to influence the Socialist Party but he failed and as a result of this he resigned his membership of the delegation which was to go to Geneva.

At present, the Communist Party gets all the privileges and advantages from Government because of their being in charge of the Trade Union Congress. Their membership is largely bogus and their control over labour is restricted to their ability to create mischief. If the Government were to withdraw the recognition which gives them the advantages, they would lose their influence considerably. Our idea was, and still is, to recognise the NTUC if it is properly organised; and if all the non-Communist forces were combined, the NTUC would be much more powerful and strong than the TUC. It would then be easy for Government to give recognition to the new organisation. I am still trying to persuade the Socialist friends to change their attitude, but I am not sure of success. If our friend Narendra Dev could be persuaded to change his attitude, the Socialist Party would throw in its weight on the side of the NTUC.

I find that Kanpur has become a source of chronic trouble and your Government finds it difficult to deal with the Kanpur labour situation. But in Kanpur, Communist influence is not so much as that of the other groups.

We are at present involved in the heavy and intricate problems of partition. As soon as we are able to set up a new Government, which would function with joint responsibility and with one mind, we will take up your suggestion of calling a conference of Ministers responsible for dealing with this problem.

Hope you are doing well,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. Sampurnanand
Minister of Education and Finance
United Provinces
Camp Nainital

37 Royal Hotel
Lucknow
2 July 1947

Dear Sardarji,

I had written to you when I came to Lucknow as Adviser to Labour. The Government of UP had appointed the Labour Enquiry Committee in December last with Bakhale of the Servants of India Society as chairman with very wide terms of reference. Bakhale fell very ill and so he resigned the chairmanship. The Committee's work was also delayed by other factors. UP has had no previous inquiries to collect any data and the question of wages, dearness allowance and bonuses etc. So after I took over my job, we decided to appoint several sub-committees to collect the present-day data on wages, dearness allowance and bonuses in almost all major industries in the province. The reports of these sub-committees are expected now. Yesterday the Government have taken a decision to appoint me as chairman. I hope to start the regular inquiry for an interim report on wages, dearness allowance and bonuses and industrial disputes by the middle of this month. I am expecting this enquiry to be a prolonged one as it is going to be very exhaustive.

This is just by way of information to you as regards my activities.

With respects,

Sincerely yours,
R. S. Nimbkar¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

¹Joined freedom movement as student; Secretary, Maharashtra PCC; member, AICC, 1926-29; later took up trade union work

Camp Mussoorie
21 May 1947

My dear Baldev Singh,

Some time ago, the UP Premier spoke to me about the obtaining of arms and equipment for their Home Guards. I noted on the file more than a fortnight ago; and I understand that the file was sent to your department two or three days later. In view of the present political situation, the matter is of great urgency, and I would be glad if you could agree to the supply of the required arms, ammunition, etc., to this force.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Sardar Baldev Singh

Lucknow
23 June 1947

My dear Shankar,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th. I have since seen the official communication received from the Defence Department. Their orders are not very distinct or precise, but I assume that they are willing to let us have the arms needed for the Home Guards. They have further advised us to raise a larger number and to extend the period prescribed for initial training. We will give utmost consideration to their suggestions and try to adopt them.

I am glad to know that necessary orders about the charges incurred in the transport of armed forces and the retention of the armed constabulary have also been issued. I think the constabulary should be retained at least for another year.

I understood from Mr. Kidwai¹ that the Ranipur and Premnagar camps have been placed at our disposal for the refugees.

¹R. A. Kidwai: Joined Congress during non-co-operation movement; member and whip, Swaraj party in Central Assembly, 1926-29; member, CWC, 1946; Minister in UP, 1936-39 and 1946; member, CA; later Minister of Communication and Food in Nehru Cabinet

The cost of repairs is however likely to be almost prohibitive. We are, however, trying to put them in order and necessary instructions have already been issued. We wanted a number of other camps situated in other places for the accommodation of Home Guards and for training in social service. I know that the military camps situated at these various centres are rapidly deteriorating. They will soon become utterly useless. I do not know why the authorities should be reluctant to lend them to us. Hope you will continue your efforts.

I shall be coming to Delhi on the 29th and hope to meet you on my arrival.

Yours sincerely,
G. B. Pant

V. Shankar Esqr., ICS
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
20 September 1947

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Premier (UP)
Lucknow

NEOGY HAS BROUGHT TO MY NOTICE YOUR GOVERNMENT'S TELEGRAM DATED 11 SEPTEMBER REGARDING MUSLIM REFUGEES FROM ROHTAK AND KARNAL. YOU SHOULD TAKE IMMEDIATE AND EFFECTIVE ACTION TO SEND THEM BACK AND TO KEEP OUT FURTHER INFLUX. WE SHOULD LIKE TO AVOID ANY FURTHER INFILTRATION OF REFUGEE PROBLEM IN UP. QUESTION OF REPATRIATION IS BEING TAKEN UP WITH EAST PUNJAB BUT NOT HOPEFUL OF EARLY ACHIEVEMENT. REFUGEES IN AMBALA HAVE NOT MOVED YET.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

Mussoorie
21 May 1947

My dear Pantji,

I have received reliable information that preparations are being made and trouble is more than likely in some of the important cities of your province, namely, Meerut, Agra, Cawnpore, [Kanpur], Barcilly, Allahabad, Benares and Lucknow. I hope your preparations to deal with such trouble are well advanced, and that you have taken necessary measures both to prevent and to deal with such trouble.

2. I have seen in the Press reports about your action for the withdrawal of arms, etc. You might ascertain, however, what action has been taken to check the transactions of existing arms dealers and to break the monopoly of one community in the sale of arms.

3. I also hope that you have taken steps to correct the communal maladjustment of the police force, particularly by raising Special Police.

4. I would be glad if you could let me have as soon as possible some indication of the up-to-date position in respect of these and other important matters connected with law and order, particularly in its communal aspect.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Nainital

1 Elgin Road
Cantonment Area
Bar Library
High Court
Allahabad
27 August 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

On 13 August 1947 I telegraphed to you my humble congratulations on the achievement of independence which I hope you have received.

It is a long time since I wrote to you last. The only reason for my silence was that you were and still are so busy solving the many difficult problems facing the country that it would have been inconsiderate on my part to have inflicted my letters on your valuable time.

As a certain rumour is gaining currency I thought it proper to inform you about it and leave the decision with you to act as it seems fair and proper to you.

It is rumoured that to fill up the vacancy of Mr. Justice Akbar Husain in the Allahabad High Court names from outside Allahabad and also from outside the Indian Union have been suggested by the High Court, Allahabad. Another rumour is that my name has also been suggested. In fact, amongst others my name was published in the Amrita Bazar Patrika as one of the names suggested by the High Court. I have always held the view that it is neither proper nor consistent with one's dignity to make any inquiries and consequently I have made none.

Therefore I am not in a position to say how this matter stands. I simply wish to bring this much to your notice that since the inception of the High Court the claim of the Government Advocate of this High Court for elevation to the Bench has always been given priority and there is not a single instance that a Government Advocate of this High Court was not raised to the Bench. I do not know if any departure from this practice simply on the basis, as there can be no other, that the present incumbent has belonged to the Congress all his life is being

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contemplated. On the contrary the least that could . . . be done would be not to treat it as a disqualification. In other words, if, by all canons of morality, convention and qualifications, a man is entitled to a certain thing he should not be victimised because he happened to be an old Congressman.

I have simply stated the position apart from the rumours as it stands and as I have said above the decision rests with the Government of India. If I am required by you to come and pay my respects to you and explain anything further, I place myself at your disposal whenever it may be convenient for you to give me five minutes.

I hope that in the stress and worry of the intricacies of the problems that you are busy solving you would in view of your kindness to me in the past forgive my taking up your valuable time with this letter. I hope and pray that God will give you strength and a long life to guide us and shape the destiny of the country.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
M. Hammad Faruqui

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

There are many things which I cannot put in this letter. They can only be explained verbally.

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New Delhi
16 September 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 27 August 1947. I shall bear your letter in mind when the proposals come up to me.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Mr. M. Hammad Faruqui
1 Elgin Road
Cantonment Area
Allahabad

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TELEGRAM

Lucknow
25 September 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
Home Minister
New Delhi

ADDRESSED TO (1) PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU (2) SARDAR PATEL NEW DELHI. PLEASE REFER TO MY SECRETARY INDUSTRIES TELEGRAM TO COLDIS CALCUTTA REPEATED TO YOUR INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR SECRETARIES AND TO HONOURABLE TRANSPORT MEMBER REGARDING COAL FOR ELECTRICITY UNDERTAKINGS. REQUEST THIS MATTER MAY RECEIVE YOUR PERSONAL ATTENTION.

PANDIT PANT

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
27 September 1947

Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Premier
United Provinces Government
Lucknow

YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 25 SEPTEMBER ABOUT COAL FOR ELECTRICITY UNDERTAKINGS. COAL CONTROLLER IS EXAMINING POSITION. MEAN-TIME GENERAL MANAGER EAST INDIAN RAILWAY IS ARRANGING RENDER MAXIMUM ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE BY DIVERTING LOCO COAL WHEREVER POSSIBLE. FOR ELECTRIC CONSUMPTION LUCKNOW AND BENARES COAL AVAILABLE WITH RAILWAY ELECTRIC UNDERTAKINGS IN LUCKNOW AND MOGHULSARAI IS BEING OFFERED. DIVISIONAL SUPERINTENDENT ALLAHABAD HAS ALSO BEEN ASKED TO PROVIDE RAILWAY COAL OF SUITABLE QUALITY TO CAWNPORE AND AGRA ELECTRIC COMPANIES.

VALLABHBHAI

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CHAPTER XII
INDIAN STATES : MERGER MOVES

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Indore
6 January 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

While on the way back from Bombay I had been in Indore for a day. I know the local Praja Mandal workers here intimately as I worked with them in 1942 and 1943.

In the present crisis created by the Maharaja, the majority of the Praja Mandal workers are against the policy of the Maharaja, Minister Dhanda and the palace group. Unfortunately some of the older ones are misled by the Maharaja's stunts and their feeling of राजनिष्ठा। The feeling here amongst the workers is that they need to be strongly pulled up by you and warned.

With regard to Mr. Mehta's dismissal, the workers' attitude and that of the public is that a very strong and firm attitude should be taken up with the Maharaja and the least that should be done is to liquidate for ever the palace group and Mr. Dhanda, otherwise the intrigues will never stop. Even dethronement of the Maharaja will get popular approval.

From what I gathered from talks with Dewas J. B. and S.B., the C.I. princes are closely watching the present challenge thrown out by Indore to the States Department, and any weak step will encourage them to try further steps. The creation or suggestion for the creation of a C.I. unit is being talked of here but the smaller princes are not proving helpful. Dewas J. B. will probably put one or two new plans before you.

I have given a letter of introduction to you to Mr. M. B. Rege, Dewan of Dewas J.B. who is coming there for a princes' meeting. He will probably consult you about possible future steps about Central India. I knew him even before he became Dewan and I think he is a very trustworthy man who will prove useful.

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With regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. V. Keskar¹

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TELEGRAM

Indore
17 May 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MAHARAJA APPOINTED YESTERDAY HORTON HIS PRIME MINISTER. HAS ALSO INVITED WITHIN FORTNIGHT SUGGESTIONS FROM IMPORTANT PUBLIC ORGANISATIONS DESIROUS OF SUBMITTING VIEWS REGARDING SHORT AND LONGTERM CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT INCLUDING APPOINTMENTS ONE OR MORE FROM PUBLIC. ON RECEIPT SUGGESTION MAHARAJA WILL WITHOUT DELAY ANNOUNCE HIS DECISION AFTER FULL CONSIDERATION. NO REFERENCE ENTRY CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY MADE. PRAJAMANDAL DECLARED PROTEST.

INDORE PRAJA MANDAL

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TELEGRAM

Indore
29 May 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

INDORE SITUATION SERIOUS. PRAJAMANDALISTS [resentful]. DON'T WANT TO PRECIPITATE. IT CAN BE SOLVED BY SOME BIG LEADERS LIKE YOURSELF KRIPALANI OR RAJENDRA BABU COMING AT INDORE ANNUAL SESSION ON 31/5/47 AND 1/6/47. INDORE PRAJAMANDAL'S ONE YEAR ULTIMATUM FOR RESPONSIBLE GOVT. EXPIRED 23/5/47 WITH A PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATION DISPERSED BY LATHI CHARGE AND ARRESTS. NOW PRAJAMANDAL DEMANDS ARE RESPONSIBLE GOVT. AND JOINING

¹ Dr. Balkrishna Vishwanath Keskar: General Secretary, Indian National Congress, 1946; elected to CA from UP, 1948; MP from Sultanpur district, UP, 1952; Deputy Minister for External Affairs, 1948-52; Minister of Information and Broadcasting, 1952-62; member, Foreign Affairs Sub-committee of Cabinet, 1958-62; Chairman, National Book Trust, India

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY ALSO REMOVAL OF THREE EUROPEAN MINISTERS. ANY PROMINENT LEADER CAN SOLVE SITUATION WHICH AFFECTS WHOLE CENTRAL INDIA. I PERSONALLY FEEL AND REQUEST YOUR PRESENCE AT INDORE PRAJAMANDAL ANNUAL SESSION. . . . KINDLY COME OR ON OUR BEHALF REQUEST ARRANGE ANY OTHER PERSONALITY. WIRE GOPIKRISHNA VIJAI VARGIYA—PRESIDENT CENTRAL INDIA STATES' PEOPLE'S CONFERENCE.

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States Department
18 August 1947

My dear Shankar,

As H. M. will be seeing Indore [Maharaja] tomorrow, I am submitting herewith a short note in which points against Indore have been marshalled, taking into account only his recent activities and not the whole history of Indore which is also not a particularly glorious one.

Yours sincerely,
A. S. Pai

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS

ENCLOSURE

As H.M. will be seeing Indore [Maharaja] some time tomorrow, I might recapitulate some important points which can be made against Indore. Telegraphic intimation of Indore's accession was not received in the States Department until 15 August although we had made it quite clear that accessions should be signed by 10 August and might be accepted at the discretion of the Dominion Government until 14 August. Indore's accession is therefore time-barred.

We had also said that in the case of time-barred accessions the present draft would stand cancelled and if the ruler still wished to accede to the Dominion he would have to submit fresh and revised terms which would inevitably be less favourable to him than the terms contained in the draft circulated to all the rulers.

Indore's signature on the Instrument of Accession on the last day could not be explained by any bona fide reasons. On the other hand, we know for a fact that he was trying desperately hard to sabotage the whole accession scheme. He was acting as a stooge of Bhopal who, in his turn, was acting as an agent

of Pakistan, and that he was circulating to other rulers false statements to the effect that as a result of the efforts of his group of rulers the Instrument of Accession was being revised and that if all of them stood firm they would be able to obtain or extract more favourable terms. The telegram from Jamnagar can be cited as an example. Not only he sent telegrams to these rulers but it is known that he sent emissaries with the same object.

His role at one time very nearly succeeded in weaning away some of the leading rulers who had already agreed to sign the Instrument of Accession. Jodhpur and Baroda are two such examples.

Indore did not attend the conference of rulers on 25 July, although he was in India, nor did he send any representative to attend the conference. In fact, he showed no interest in the proceedings and made no contribution to the scheme of accession.

He has a council in which there is a large section of Europeans and Americans, and his Prime Minister is a Britisher belonging to the Police Service.

Even after signing the Accession he did not permit the State officials to celebrate Independence Day on 15 August and obstructed the celebration of the day by his people. Accession is thus half-hearted and insincere and does not promise that the ruler would be a loyal unit of the country.

He is himself so weak and unfit to rule that he would not take a step without consultation with Bhopal. He has an American wife by [whom] he has got a son whom he wishes to be recognised as the next successor superseding the claims of his daughter by the Mahratta wife. There is reason to believe that in this he was encouraged by Bhopal. Even the Political Department, known for its reactionary policy, did not countenance this proposal of Indore and repeatedly rejected his request to recognise his son born of the American wife as the next heir to the gaddi of Indore.

When Indore acceded, he did so because he found that without accession he would be left alone and stranded and would not be able to resist the pressure of his people. The accession was not inspired by patriotic motives but as an act of surrender after he had lost the battle. One who fights thus must get the terms of a defeated enemy and must be distinguished from those who had stood by the Dominion Government with every intention to preserve its unity and integrity and to raise its strength at this critical juncture.

He has forfeited the sympathy not only of the people of India but even of many of his brother rulers to such an extent that any terms which may be imposed upon him would not be grudged or regarded as unduly harsh or vindictive. I have it on the authority of his Legal Adviser that any harsh terms which may be imposed upon him would be swallowed by him, knowing as he does that he has played an unworthy part in the whole game regardless of considerations of safety and security not only of the country generally but even of the great majority of his own people,

Indore
20 August 1947

Dear Maniben,

I came back to Indore on the night of the 18th inst. The Maharaja of Indore had already left for Delhi in deference to an invitation from Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. The Indore Maharaja was accompanied by the Maharaja of Dewas (Jr.) and Minister Dhanda of Indore. Shri Rameshwar Dayal Totla and Shri V. V. Dravid, representing the Praja Mandal viewpoint, have also left.

The Maharaja Holkar of Indore announced, through a gazette extraordinary, dated 14 August 1947 his [acceptance] of the revised instrument of accession. However, the authorities of the Indore State Praja Mandal, who had come to know of a hitch over the above signing of the instrument, asked for a categorical statement by the State authorities if the State's accession to the Indian Union was an accomplished fact. To this the State authorities replied in the affirmative. So the working committee of the Praja Mandal, which met soon after this, had to take the authoritative statement to be beyond doubt. The working committee consequently passed a resolution expressing its happiness over the signification by the Maharaja to the instrument of accession.

The news of the States Department's refusal to accept the signification in its present form has however made the Praja Mandal authorities extremely cautious and it is possible they would voice forth their condemnation of the attitude and the manner of the Maharaja in pronouncing his signification to the Instrument of Accession. The Praja Mandal leaders have already reached Delhi in order to assess the true position.

The working committee of the Praja Mandal has through the same resolution rejected the so-called reforms announced recently by the Maharaja, as they fall too short of the minimum aspirations [of] the people. The working committee has recorded its strong resentment against the failure of the State Government to recognise the establishment of responsible government as the immediate aim of the reforms. The working committee would not agree to the Government itself preparing the constitution for

the future governance of the State. It is the people's right, declared the working committee, to frame their own constitution and it was impossible for them to work any constitution that was not framed by them or in full consultation with them. The authoritarian position now taken up by the Government in this matter is, in the opinion of the working committee, untenable in so far as the Government itself has previously conceded the right to frame the constitution to a body mainly composed of the people's representatives.

The working committee has flatly repudiated the claim of foreigners to remain any more in seats of authority and has categorically declared that it was inconsistent with self-respect for the people's true representatives even to sit by the side of the white Ministers for the purpose of the governance of the State. On top of this, three non-official ministership recently announced are neither to be selected by the majority party in the legislature nor are they to be responsible to the legislature. The Praja Mandal has therefore rejected the whole scheme outright.

The Praja Mandal working committee has taken strong exception to the assumption of full sovereignty by the ruler himself on the lapse of paramountcy. The working committee has emphatically stated that sovereignty belongs to the people and not to any one individual. It has refused to accept the doctrine that sovereignty resides in the Maharaja alone and has demanded that the sovereignty of the people must be recognised as the true foundation of all reforms to come.

The text of the resolution cited above is [in] the process of translation and it will be sent to you as soon as possible.

The working committee has decided to [launch] a statewide struggle for internal freedom on and from 25 August 1947 in the event of the failure of the Maharaja to remove the white bureaucracy at once, to agree to frame a constitution with the establishment of responsible government as the goal, and to establish immediately an interim machinery of government elected by the existing legislature.

The Maharaja has desired through his Prime Minister that the authorities of the Praja Mandal wait till his (Maharaja) return from Delhi. The Maharaja has accepted to grant an interview to the representatives of the Praja Mandal immediately on his return.

It is in deference to this desire of the Maharaja that the Praja Mandal has deferred its programme of non-violent struggle till 25 August 1947.

In the meanwhile, parties of the workers of the Praja Mandal have gone to the interior with a view to prepare the masses for action. The beginning of the struggle will be marked by a one-day total general strike all over the State in which it is expected the services will also participate.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
H. L. Masurkar

Shri Maniben Patel
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

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21 August 1947

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

With reference to the discussion we had yesterday, in which I mentioned, as a suitable man for the post of Prime Minister of your State, the name of Mr. N. C. Mehta. I got in touch with Mr. Mehta on the telephone yesterday and he came and saw me today. He is willing to serve Your Highness as Prime Minister and I am, therefore, sending him to you. He is an experienced and able retired officer of the ICS and has served both the Central and Provincial Governments in various capacities. He is equally at home in economic and administrative matters and I feel that he would be of great assistance to Your Highness in the discharge of your responsibilities to the people of the State and will relieve you of a great deal of your anxiety and concern for your State. I have no doubt that, if the final choice of Your Highness should fall upon him, he will fully deserve your confidence and trust and will be instrumental in bringing about such development and reconstruction in your State as is so dear to Your Highness. I hope your journey was comfortable.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharajadhiraj Raj Rajeshwar
Sawai Shri Yeshwant Rao, Holkar Bahadur, LL.D., GCIE
Maharaja of Indore
New Delhi

Manikbagh Palace
Indore
17 November 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I trust you have received the following telegram which I sent to you:

"AM COMING TO DELHI EARLY NEXT MONTH AT HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA BIKANER'S INVITATION WHEN I SHOULD MUCH LOOK FORWARD TO MEETING YOU AND DISCUSSING PERSONALLY SOME VERY IMPORTANT MATTERS AND OTHER MATTERS WHICH THE STATES MINISTRY MAY HAVE TO DISCUSS. AM SENDING YOU A LETTER TOMORROW MENTIONING SOME IMPORTANT AND FURTHER REFORMS WHICH I AM ANNOUNCING IMMEDIATELY. WITH AFFECTIONATE REGARDS."

Since I met you in Delhi, I have been doing all I can to follow the very sound and affectionate advice you gave me as a friend. I had commenced with great hope and very different ideas with Mehta but . . . continued experience has made me feel far from happy with him. I shall talk about this personally when I hope to see you early next month in Delhi. Despite difficulties and opposition from him, I have gone ahead with further very substantial reforms to which I referred in my telegram. I have announced this morning my decisions also to take Mr. V. S. Sarwate and Mr. V. V. Dravid into the Cabinet. In order to make room for Mr. Sarwate, I have withdrawn Nedou, (who incidentally has served me well and very long) from his seat in the Cabinet. My relations with my people have been traditionally very happy and consistently with these old traditions and in deference to a strongly expressed popular wish on behalf of the Praja Mandal, I have also decided that, instead of an official, I should be represented on the Constituent Assembly by Sarwate. In this also I have met with difficulties from Mehta. However, I am going ahead with this.

While I so much look forward to meeting you early next month in Delhi and to talk over the future, I write to assure you once again of my very sincere and warm support in every possible way to you and our National Government in this very

difficult hour. Please do take the trouble of writing to me personally if at any time you feel that I could do more to help.

With very warm greetings,

Yours sincerely,
Yeshwant Rao Holkar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
19 November 1947

My dear Maharaja,

Thank you for your letter of 17 November 1947. I had received your telegram but postponed a reply until I got your letter promised therein.

2. We had hoped that, as a result of our discussion in August and the deputation of Mr. N. C. Mehta as your Prime Minister, your difficulties would be considerably relieved, but I am sorry to find that it is not so and that you are so unhappy about the situation. I quite appreciate your gesture in enlarging your Cabinet so as to increase its popular character. I have no doubt that this gesture would be appreciated by your people.

3. I am glad you are coming here in the first week of December. We could then discuss the whole matter and I shall do my best to smooth out your difficulties. I would suggest that you bring Mr. N. C. Mehta along with you in order that the whole position could be comprehensively reviewed and remedied.

4. I hope you are looking after your health and that you are feeling much better.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharaja of Indore
Indore

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TELEGRAM

Nagod
25 January 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

GLAD INFORM YOU NAGOD CONGRESS HAS CAPTURED THIRTEEN OUT OF FIFTEEN ELECTED SEATS IN STATE LEGISLATURE. REMAINING TWO HAVE ALSO SINCE JOINED CONGRESS. ONE OF US HAS BEEN ELECTED VICE PRESIDENT. MYSELF ELECTED UNOPPOSED . . . MINISTER WITH PORTFOLIO OVER ALL NATIONBUILDING DEPARTMENTS OF THE STATE. PRAJA MANDALISTS OPPOSED OUR SUCCESS AND CREATED NUISANCE AND DISTURBANCES BUT FAILED. THEY WILL [be] DOING SAME. PRAY BLESSINGS PRANAM.

RAJBAHADUR SINGH, SECRETARY CONGRESS

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The Palace
Nagod, CI
24 May 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Probably you are aware of my having secured Mr. M. M. Gharekhan for the State as its Constitutional Adviser and Chief Minister. So well you know him that I did not take your time to introduce him to you. I have desired him to go to New Delhi and to pay you his respects as well as mine. I feel confident, therefore, that you will kindly spare a few moments for him on the 28th instant. He will be reaching New Delhi on the 27th. I am anxious myself to meet you and I will do so at your earliest convenience.

With my profound regards,

Yours sincerely,
Mahendra Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
29 May 1947

Dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 24 May 1947.

I am glad you have been able to utilise the services of Mr. Gharekhan. I am sorry it was not possible for me to see him yesterday owing to my many preoccupations, but I have had the pleasure of meeting him today. I am looking forward to seeing you as well.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.H. The Maharaja Sahib of Nagod
The Palace
Nagod, CI

Nagod (CI)
17 June 1947

My dear Secretary Sahib,

Probably you are aware of my being fixed up here as Constitutional Adviser and Chief Minister for Nagod State.

2. Your letter dated 7 June 1947, and another letter of the same date on the subject of election of representatives by States to the Consemby were received by me only on the 16th. As desired in para 3 of it, I have telegraphically communicated to you the decision of the Nagod Durbar to join the Consemby. Herewith you will find copy of it for confirmation.

3. For the Central India States three seats seem to have been allocated. You will find that Bundelkhand has a population nearing about 2 million and Malwa a population of one million. Proportionately, therefore, Bundelkhand States should have two seats and Malwa should have one only. It would be much better if your office confirms this position at the earliest moment possible.

4. The suggestion made at the end of your letter is being considered with all possible quickness.

Yours sincerely,
M. M. Gharekhan

H. V. R. Iengar Esq., ICS, GSI
Secretary
Constituent Assembly
New Delhi

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Durgabag Palace
Dewas J.B., CI
30 April 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I have great pleasure in sending you herewith the Dewas Junior Reforms Act which I sanctioned and announced on 4 March last.

You will find therein lines of constitutional advance which are the farthest yet attained in Central India. For the urban constituencies I have provided adult suffrage and direct elections, and for the rural constituencies representation is through village panchayats which are themselves formed on adult suffrage. I am taking two or more popular Ministers as are nominated for me in the Legislative Assembly and have pledged myself to full responsible government within three years, which is actually half the period insisted on by the Popular Committee consisting mostly of representatives of the local Praja Mandal, whose recommendations have formed the basis of the reforms. I am happy to say that they have now accepted my reforms and are working [them] with full co-operation, as [evidenced] by the manner in which they are taking part in the general elections ordered for May next. I know it is the fashion amongst Congress leaders in British India to hold Aundh and Cochin as models of constitutional propriety amongst States. Here in Central India, I have gone all out to secure the love of my people, and I challenge you to find anywhere in Central India to better my scheme, having regard to general backwardness, to secure the object we have all in view.

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While I say all this, you may remember our conversation of which I myself have a vivid recollection. The conditions of educational progress in Central India are still heart-rendingly backward and I have many misgivings whether I shall find requisite materials to stand the test of the highest efficiency. Loyalty I shall have in abundant measure. But what is needed is sympathy and co-operation from the leaders of British India to whom my people here are apt to look for guidance.

I have been reading your latest speeches in Gujarat with the greatest interest and I wish your other friends always followed your example with the same sense of reality.

With very kind regards and hoping this finds you well,

Yours very sincerely,
Yeshwantrao Pawar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
16 May 1947

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Please refer to your letter of 30 April 1947 with which you enclosed a copy of the Dewas Junior Reforms Act.

2. I have carefully gone through the Act and find that it does make a substantial advance over the previous position, and I am glad to hear that Your Highness contemplates introducing full responsible government within three years. I have no doubt that popular opinion in your State will back you to the full in your efforts to introduce a completely democratic government.

3. I fully endorse your view about the backwardness of Central India and congratulate you on your boldness in introducing these reforms much ahead, as you say, of any other State in that Agency, and I shall not be slow in congratulating you once again when you have introduced full responsible government and thereby placed before your brother Princes a worthy example to emulate, not only in the interests of their people but in their own interests as well.

4. I am glad that you have taken some interest in the speeches which I made in Gujarat and I do hope your brother Princes

will find in them a friendly approach sufficiently sincere to prompt them to take the only patriotic course possible for them, viz. to join the Constituent Assembly with the least possible delay.

I trust Your Highness will exert your influence in inducing the remaining Central India States to join the Constituent Assembly at an early date and also to make an immediate announcement accordingly. Indore has not yet decided either way.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Captain His Highness
Maharaja Shrimant Yeshwantrao
Bhausahb Pawar, Maharaja Sahab
Dewas State
Dewas (Jr.)

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TELEGRAM

Allahabad
17 August 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

REFERENCE OUR CONVERSATION 11 AUGUST NO SETTLEMENT REACHED.
MY MINISTER WITH LETTER REACHING DELHI 18 AUGUST. SHALL BE
GRATEFUL IF INTERVIEW GRANTED TO HIM SAME DAY AS MATTER
VERY URGENT. REGARDS.

MAHARAJA REWA

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TELEGRAM

17 August 1947

(1) Maharaja of Rewa
Allahabad
Repeat to (2) Maharaja of Rewa
Rewa

YOUR TELEGRAM. ADVISE YOU NOT TO NEGOTIATE FURTHER WITH
YOUR FATHER WITHOUT LETTING ME KNOW. SHALL SEE YOUR
MINISTER TOMORROW.

VALLABHBHAI

S.C.-V-23

151 Constitution House
New Delhi
25 August 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I just received a telegram from my second son which I submit for your information. Sir Gulab Singh left Rewa yesterday on receipt of your telegram. I on behalf of myself, the young ruler and his subjects convey to you our respectful thanks for the prompt action taken in the interest of Rewa State and its Ruler. I pray that you continue to have an abiding interest in future in the welfare of Rewa subjects and its Ruler, who shall always need your guidance and helping hand in the conduct of State administration. On one point I may once again assure you that in Martand Singh Rewa is fortunate to have a Ruler who has the interest of his people at heart, and will do everything for their good, if undesirable obstructions are not created in his way. I am flying tomorrow morning at 7 a.m. as previously arranged.

With respects,

Sincerely yours,
Siva Bahadur Singh
Rewa State Representative
to Consemby

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

TELEGRAM DATED 24 AUGUST 1947 FROM PRIME MINISTER,
REWA TO STATESIND, NEW DELHI

REFERENCE YOUR TELEGRAM OF 23 AUGUST EX-MAHARAJA SAHIB'S
TELEGRAM TO SARDAR PATEL READS AS FOLLOWS QUOTE I ASSURE
YOU I AM A WELL-WISHER HIS HIGHNESS HIS GOVERNMENT AND REWA
PEOPLE AND HAVE GREATEST REGARD FOR YOUR HON'BLE SELF. AM
LEAVING HOME TODAY AND WILL REACH DELHI AS SOON AS I CAN
MAKE JOURNEY ARRANGEMENTS FROM ALLAHABAD. HAVE INVITED
REWA COUNCIL ALSO TO COME FOR DISCUSSION. G S REWA UNQUOTE.

IN DEFERENCE TO SARDAR PATEL'S WISHES EX-MAHARAJA SAHIB LEAVING REWA TODAY FOR DISCUSSION WITH HIM. REWA COUNCIL PREPARED TO REACH DELHI AS SOON AS INFORMED.

TELEGRAM DATED 24 AUGUST 1947, FROM H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF REWA, TO MENON, STATES DEPARTMENT, NEW DELHI

EX-MAHARAJA LEAVING REWA THIS EVENING FOR ALLAHABAD. PUBLIC SLIGHTLY EXCITED AND UNEASY BUT NO CAUSE FOR ANXIETY.

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TELEGRAM

Allahabad
26 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
States Department
New Delhi

YOUR HONOURS WIRE RECEIVED TODAY. LEAVING FOR DELHI TOMORROW MORNING.

G S REWA

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TELEGRAM

29 August 1947

From
Statesind, New Delhi

To
His Highness Maharaja of Rewa

SARDAR PATEL WOULD BE GLAD IF YOUR HIGHNESS WOULD COME TO DELHI AS SOON AS POSSIBLE FOR CONSULTATION.

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TELEGRAM

Rewa
3 September 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Delhi

MUSLIMS SYMPATHISE WITH EXMAHARAJA GULABSINGHJI OF REWA
AND ANXIOUSLY AWAIT HIS ARRIVAL.

SECRETARY STATES MUSLIM LEAGUE REWA

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
4 September 1947

Ramrao Deshmukh¹
Morsi Road
Amraoti (Berar)

WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD COME DOWN TO DELHI AT ONCE.
MATTER VERY IMPORTANT.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

¹ Finance Minister, Gwalior Government, 1941-44; member, National Defence Council, 1940-44; High Commissioner for India in South Africa, 1945-47; Prime Minister and Adviser to Raj Pramukh of Vindhya Pradesh, Rewa, 1947-48; Director, Reserve Bank of India, 1949-52; elected to Rajya Sabha, 1952

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TELEGRAM

Amraoti
5 September 1947

Hon'ble Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR TELEGRAM. ARRIVING SATURDAY BY AIR SUBJECT TO GETTING
ACCOMMODATION AT NAGPUR. PLEASE DIRECT ARRANGEMENTS FOR
MY CONVEYANCE AND ACCOMMODATION AT DELHI.

RAMRAO DESHMUKH

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New Delhi
4 October 1947

Dear Mr. Deshmukh,

Sardar has asked me to write to you saying that he has not
heard from you since you joined at Rewa. He would like to know
how you find things there and how you are settling down. Please
write to him at your earliest convenience.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar
Private Secretary to
the Hon. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri R. R. Deshmukh
Chief Minister
Rewa State

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TELEGRAM

Amraoti
15 October 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

REVENUE MINISTER AND PRIVATE SECRETARY REWA SAW ME TODAY AND REPORTED SITUATION NEEDING URGENT PERSONAL DISCUSSION WITH YOU. SHALL ARRIVE TOMORROW THURSDAY BY AIR PROVIDED ACCOMMODATION FROM NAGPUR IS AVAILABLE.

RAMRAO DESHMUKH

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New Delhi
30 October 1947

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Will Your Highness please refer to your letter of 15 October 1947 regarding Rai Bahadur Pandit A. K. Kaul? Rai Bahadur Kaul was holding the post of Judicial Officer, Neemuch, prior to his deputation to Bijawar. With the retrocession of jurisdiction over railway lands and various administered areas and cantonments in Central India, a number of miscellaneous officers have become surplus in Central India and we are considering the future of these officers. You can assure Rai Bahadur Kaul that his case will receive every consideration. In the meanwhile there is no need to disturb his deputation to Bijawar State and he can continue in his present employment.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lieut-Colonel His Highness Maharaja
Mahendra Sir Yadvendra Singh Bahadur, KCSI, KCIE
Maharaja of Panna
Panna

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4 December 1947

Telegraphic Message from
Regional Commissioner for Bundelkhand States
To
Secretary to the Government of India
Ministry of States
New Delhi

CHIEF MINISTER ORCHHA WIRES BEGINS IN SPITE OF PROMISED SUSPENSION OF SATYAGRAH SEWA SANGH WORKERS INDULGING IN INFLAMMATORY FILTHY SPEECHES ASSAULTING OFFICIALS CUTTING GOVT. FORESTS. RECENT INSTANCES ARE ASSAULTED NAIB TEHSILDAR PIRTHIPUR DAMAGED POLICE STATION FORGING OFFICIAL RESIGNATIONS UNDER THREAT OF STOPPING RATION. ASSAULTED FORESTER AND FOREST GUARD SIMRA LYING ORCHHA HOSPITAL. REFUSE PAYING GOVT. DUES. IF IMMEDIATE INSTRUCTIONS NOT GIVEN GOVT. WILL BE OBLIGED TO RETALIATE. MAHARAJA'S IMMEDIATE RETURN REQUESTED. DISTRICT MAGISTRATE PROCEEDING FOR ENQUIRY. WIRE IF CAN SEE YOU FIFTH ENDS. HAVE REPLIED AGREEING TO SEE HIM. FOR INFORMATION REGIONAL COMMISSIONER.

TELEGRAM

Bhopal
17 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

I AM FILLED WITH ADMIRATION AT THE CORDIALITY SHOWN IN YOUR TELEGRAM IN REPLY TO MY MESSAGE OF FELICITATIONS AND FEEL THAT TIME HAS NOW COME WHEN WE TWO SHOULD MEET TOGETHER PERSONALLY WITHOUT INTERMEDIARIES. I WOULD BE MOST GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD KINDLY ARRANGE OUR MEETING IN DELHI AFTER ID. SHALL BE FREE ANY TIME FROM MORNING TWENTIETH.

HAMIDDULAH

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
18 August 1947

His Highness Nawabsahib of Bhopal
Ahmedabad Bhopal

THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM. ID MUBARAK. CAN MEET SUNDAY TWENTY-
FOURTH ELEVEN OCLOCK. PLEASE WIRE IF CONVENIENT.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

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TELEGRAM

Ahmedabad
Bhopal
19 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MANY THANKS KIND TELEGRAM AND ID GREETINGS WHICH I HIGHLY
APPRECIATE. WOULD PREFER TO MEET YOU IF YOU MAY EARLIER
AND SUGGEST 21 AUGUST IF CONVENIENT TO YOU. I AM WAITING FOR
THIS AS I HAVE TITLE MATTERS TO DISCUSS AND WANT LITTLE RESPITE
TO CONSIDER THE RESULT.

HAMIDULLAH

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
19 August 1947

His Highness Nawabsahib
Bhopal

THANKS YOUR TELEGRAM. 21ST AFTERNOON WILL SUIT ME.

VALLABHBHAI

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TELEGRAM

Ahmedabad [Bhopal]
20 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

MANY THANKS KIND TELEGRAM. ARRANGING ARRIVE DELHI NOON
21ST. LOOKING FORWARD MEETING YOU AFTER LUNCH.

HAMIDULLAH

Iasri-i-Sultani
Bhopal
26 August 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

By the time you receive this letter you will have heard the news that I have decided to join the Union of India. I feel, therefore, that it will help our relations if I write to you to define clearly my attitude towards you personally as Minister of the States Department and to the Dominion which Bhopal State has agreed to join.

During our talk on the 22nd you expressed surprise, at one stage, that I had so much opposed your plan. I do not disguise the fact that while the struggle was on I used every means in my power to preserve the independence and neutrality of my State. Now that I have conceded defeat I hope that you will find that I can be as staunch a friend as I have been an inveterate opponent. I harbour no ill feelings towards any one, for throughout I have been treated with consideration and have received understanding and courtesy from your side.

I now wish to tell you that so long as you maintain your present firm stand against the disruptive forces in the country and continue to be a friend of the States as you have shown you are, you will find in me a loyal and faithful ally. Now that I am with the Dominion of India my influence will always be

used in support of the Dominion Government and in combating disloyal elements, irrespective of caste, creed or religion.

I shall stand by you and if ever you need my assistance in maintaining communal harmony you have only to say the word and I will do everything in my power to help.

Perhaps when I am next in Delhi we might have a further talk.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Hamidullah¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
1 September 1947

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Many thanks for your personal letter of 26 August 1947.

2. I am deeply touched by its transparent sincerity and cordial tone, and I can assure you that I warmly reciprocate the same.

3. Quite candidly, I do not look upon the accession of your State to the Indian Dominion as either a victory for us or a defeat for you. It is only right and propriety which have triumphed in the end, and in that triumph you and I have played our respective roles. You deserve full credit for having recognised the soundness of the position and for the courage, the honesty and the boldness of having given up your earlier stand, which, according to us, was entirely antagonistic to the interests as much of India as of your own State.

4. I have noted with particular pleasure your assurance of support to the Dominion Government in combating disloyal elements irrespective of caste, creed or religion, and your offer of loyal and faithful friendship. During the last few months, it had been a great disappointment and regret to me that your undoubted talents and abilities were not at the country's disposal in the critical times through which we were passing, and I, there-

¹Nawab Muhammad Hamidullah Khan: Succeeded his mother as ruler of Bhopal in 1920; Chancellor of Chamber of Princes at time of partition; delegate to RTC; tried to bring about rapprochement between Gandhi and Jinnah in 1946

fore, particularly value this assurance of co-operation and friendship. No Government can tolerate even for a moment subversive influences and activities, and you can rest assured that we, on our part, realise that the sooner we get control over these the better.

5. I am looking forward to meeting Your Highness when you happen to come to Delhi and to talk over our many problems and difficulties pertaining not only to the new relationship between the States and the Dominion, but also the present situation in the country and the part which the States should play in the general advancement of the country.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Air Vice Marshal His Highness
Nawab Haji Muhammad Hamidullah Khan Bahadur
Nawab of Bhopal
Bhopal

[Memorandum by the Viceroy on his talk with Nawab of Bhopal dated 11 August 1947—See Appendix I.]

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5 Barakhamba Road
New Delhi
24 October 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I enclose copy of a letter I have sent to Pandit Nehru to-day which you may kindly see.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

5 Barakhamba Road
New Delhi
24 October 1947

My dear Panditji,

This morning at the Cabinet Emergency Committee meeting you expressed your desire to take drastic action against those native States whose police or military attacked people within the Indian Union. The enclosed telegram refers to the activities of the Bhopal police on 16 October last. Perhaps a similar telegram has come to you also. I hope necessary enquiry will be made in this case.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
New Delhi

TELEGRAM RELATING TO ACTIVITIES OF BHOPAL POLICE

Bhopal
21 October 1947

BHOPAL POLICE SHOT DEAD BHASKAR IN RAILWAY AREA 16 OCTOBER AND TOOK CUSTODY FOUR SIKH REFUGEES AND ARE MALTREATING. PLEASE HELP IMPARTIAL TRIAL.

LAXMINARAIN
SECRETARY
HINDU SABHA

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Nagpur
30 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am enclosing herewith a letter received from the Raja Bahadur of Khairagarh. A number of things mentioned therein are purely provincial which can be arranged between the States and this province; but there are others which are either inter-provincial

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or Central, e.g., the highways. Even for those things which are provincial, the States Negotiating Committee may have come to some decisions, and I shall be grateful if you will kindly advise me what suggestions should be made for the guidance of the Ruling Princes. The subject of the splitting up of this province on a linguistic basis is one in which the Chhattisgarh States are keenly interested, and I would like to know what your suggestion would be in this connection.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Shri Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Khairagarh camp
Wood Cock House
Ootacamund
S. I. Rly.
27 June 1947

My dear Panditji,

When I was last in Nagpur on about 7 June, I had informal discussions with you on matters of mutual co-operation bringing mutual benefit both to the Chhattisgarh States and to the province.

2. You are aware of the fact that the Political Department is shortly going to be wound up and paramountcy reverting to the States; as such there may be some difficulties in administration both in the province and the States.

3. I, therefore, in my own personal capacity, would like to have your personal opinion and advice on the subject and I also wish to find out in what respect and to what extent collaboration between the Central Provinces and Berar and the Chhattisgarh States would be feasible without affecting in any manner the separate identity of the States and the proposed Federal Union, which you are aware, [is to be composed] of the 39 States of the Eastern States, viz., the 25 States of Orissa and 14 States of Chhattisgarh. The following subjects seem to require attention:

- (a) Provincial highways linking up through routes of communication in the States.
- (b) University education, arrangements for the State candidates for their training at agriculture, medical, engineering colleges and such other technical colleges that are in the province and that are likely to be opened in the near future.
- (c) Co-operation in combating epidemics.

- (d) Mutual assistance of the police force for purposes of detection and prevention of crime near the borders of Central Provinces and Chhattisgarh States.
 - (e) Co-operation in the enforcement of excise articles.
 - (f) Consultation in regard to adoption of suitable forest policies, such as may prevent floods and soil erosion.
 - (g) Cereals, commodities, supply of controlled articles and supply of excise drugs.
 - (h) Maintenance of common boundaries.
 - (i) Planning of agricultural and industrial development, so as to make Central Provinces and the Chhattisgarh States self-supporting and mutually helpful.
4. I shall also be much obliged if you kindly let me know if there is any truth in the rumour that the Central Province & Berar would be split up on a linguistic basis viz.: Hindi-speaking (Mahakoshal) and Maharashtra consisting of Marathi-speaking [areas] stretching up to Poona.

I shall be very grateful for your reply on the above subject.

I am leaving for Khairagarh on 4 July.

Excuse bad typing.

With my kind regards and pranams.

I remain,

Yours very sincerely,
Birendr Subodh Singh

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Premier, Central Province & Berar
Nagpur (CP)

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New Delhi
9 July 1947

My dear Shuklaji,

Thank you for your letter of 30 June 1947, with which you enclosed a letter from the Raja Bahadur of Khairagarh. Before committing yourself to any collaboration with the neighbouring States, you should await the result of the negotiations we are going to undertake with regard to temporary and permanent arrangements in matters of common concern after 16 August 1947. It is likely that the enthusiasm of these States for an arrangement with

us would decrease if they knew that in nation-building departments they could rely on the co-operation of the provinces. You may reply that there would be no objection to collaboration in these matters if the offer is genuine, but the important thing to start with is the conclusion of arrangements with the Centre through the Constituent Assembly, and once these are accomplished arrangements with Provincial Governments will present no difficulty and that you will do the best you can to deal with matters of common concern.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Prime Minister
CP and Berar Government
Nagpur

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TELEGRAM

Khairagarh
29 December 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

AM ARRIVING THIRTIETH AFTERNOON BY PLANE SPECIALLY TO MEET HON'BLE MEMBER ON CERTAIN CLARIFICATIONS AND AMPLIFICATIONS IN THE AGREEMENT. EARNESTLY REQUEST INTERVIEW WITH HM THIRTIETH EVENING AS I UNDERSTAND HON'BLE MEMBER LEAVING FOR ASSAM THE SAME DAY.

RAJABAHADUR

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New Delhi
30 December 1947

My dear Shukla,

Three persons, whose names are mentioned below, came and saw me this morning with the suggestion that a referendum should be held in Khairagarh on the question of merger with CP:

Mr. Gulab Chand Jain
Mr. L. B. Mandlekar, and
Mr. S. Chakravarti

I have given them a bit of my mind and told them that merger of the State with CP had already been accomplished, that the people's will did not require to be ascertained by a referendum and that the measure which had been blessed by the whole of India could not be detrimental to the interests of the people.

One of these three gentlemen, Mr. Chakravarti, seemed to be of communistic tendencies. Anyway, so far as Delhi is concerned, there is an end of the matter. But I still feel that you should mobilise public opinion in the States in your favour and deal effectively with any opposition that may manifest itself. If necessary, you or Mishraji could visit the State. I [suspect] the ruler is wire-pulling in this matter. It would be better to have a resolution of a public meeting of the people of this State supporting our decision if possible.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Nagpur

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Kali Kothi No. 1
Camp: Indore
3 July 1947

The Home Minister
New Delhi

Dear Sardar Patel,

I hope by now you have received my telegram informing you of my State's decision to join the Constituent Assembly.

Herewith I am sending you a copy of my letter to the Political Agent of the Malwa States. As you will see from it, I have informed the Political Agent that I shall be meeting the Home Minister in New Delhi.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly let me know when it will be convenient for you to grant me an interview in New Delhi to discuss my State's amalgamation with the province of Bombay.

Yours sincerely,
Thakur Saheb,
Kathiwara (CI)

ENCLOSURE

Kali Kothi No. 1

Camp: Indore

2 July '47

The Political [Agent] in Malwa
Indore

My representative who attended the Rulers and Ministers' Conference at Indore on 28 and 29 June has given me a full report of the proceedings of the meeting and the decisions taken.

I hereby write to inform you that I have decided to join my State with the province of Bombay. And in this matter I am contacting the Home Minister of the Central Government at New Delhi to ask for his opinions and advice, and after ascertaining his views I shall get into touch with the Premier of Bombay. My representative at the meeting at Indore was asked by you on 28 June as to what arrangement I am making to carry on the correspondence between my State and the Central Government at New Delhi.

As regards the future of my State, I am taking a different course to what the other neighbouring States intend to take. Therefore it shall not be possible for me to correspond with the Central Government through any Secretariat that may be set up by any group of States.

As the present Secretariat of the Political Department at Indore will continue to function till 15 August I shall keep in touch with the Central Government through this Secretariat, and by 15 August I shall be able to make final settlement with the Government of Bombay.

Thakur Saheb,
Kathiawara [Central India]

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New Delhi
14 July 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 3 July 1947. I shall be glad to see you in Delhi when you happen to come here. I suggest you come here any day you conveniently can and then get in

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S.C.-V-24

touch with my Private Secretary, who will fix a convenient time for an interview.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Thakur Saheb
Kathiwarra (CI)
Kali Kothi No. 1
Camp: Indore
Indore

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1 Canning Lane
New Delhi
20 July 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I have received from the Ruling Chief of Kawardha. His representative, who brought this letter to me last evening, has been informed by me of the position to which the States are relegated by clause 8 of the Provincial Constitution. But I have told him that we would give him proper replies after consulting you.

Yours sincerely,
R. S. Shukla

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Kawardha
E. S. A.
17 July 1947

My dear Panditji,

I thank you very much for your telegram of the 14th inst. I am longing to see you and discuss with you the matters of present-day politics.

You must have read in the papers that the Eastern States Agency has formed a union and has joined the Consenbly, but has not yet given a decision whether they would federate with the Indian Centre. I alone have not signed the Instrument of Accession to this Union, as I thought that it was a very vital issue to give one's consent without consulting the people of

the State, but all the same I am required to give my final decision by the end of this month. Now the people of Kawardha and I think that our geographical situation is such that our economic interests will not be well served by joining this States Union. Our desire is to come to some terms with CP in the way of mutual civil supplies, administrative and educational facilities. This is merely illustrative, but will be exhaustively dealt with in the course of discussion and final agreement.

I want to take the earliest opportunity to discuss with you and take your valuable advice in the matter. Unfortunately I am so much burdened with work here that I cannot get off just at present. Therefore I am sending to you our representative to start negotiations with you. I shall be joining them as soon as possible. I request and hope that you will please give them time for your advice and preliminary discussions.

Please treat this letter as confidential till we have reached the final agreement.

With best of regards,

Yours sincerely,
D. R. Singh
Ruler of Kawardha

Pandit Ravishankar Shukla

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New Delhi
21 July 1947

My dear Ravishankar,

Thank you for your letter of 20 July 1947 regarding the request of the Ruling Chief of Kawardha to come to some mutual arrangements with the CP Government in regard to civil supplies etc.

I assume that Kawardha State will join the Union. If so, there could be no objection to your coming to an agreement with the Ruler in regard to these matters. You will notice that provision has been made in the draft Constitution for the provinces enabling the executive authority of the province to function outside its boundaries by special agreement with the neighbouring States.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Camp: New Delhi

New Delhi
22 December 1947

My dear Shukla,

I am sending herewith a copy of a telegram which I have received from one Mr. Shiva Saran, chairman of the Surguja Praja Sabha. You will of course know how to deal with this. You will see that people in the States concerned support our policy.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Ravishankar Shukla
Nagpur

ENCLOSURE
TELEGRAM

Ambikapur
20 December 1947

Sardar Patel
New Delhi

PEOPLE NOT TRANSFERABLE GOODS. MAHARAJA'S SIGNATURE ULTRAVIRES ILLEGAL. YOUR IDEAL PEOPLE'S SOVEREIGNTY ENCROACHED. ACTION ARBITRARY. SURGUJA SATISFYING ALL CONDITIONS MAKING SEPARATE UNIT. PROSPECTS INFINITE POSSIBILITIES BOUNDLESS. SUGGESTION BACKED OVERWHELMING MAJORITY. REFERENDUM DEMANDED. SITUATION EXPLOSIVE.

SHIVA SARAN
CHAIRMAN
PRAJA SABHA SURGUJA

Camp: Birla House
Mussoorie
26 May 1947

My dear Dr. Khare,¹

I have received your letter of the 22nd instant here today.

I do not know whether any tractors are available in the Government of India, but I am sending a copy of your letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Member for Agriculture, who will surely help you if it is possible.

I do not know what H.H. the Maharaja of Alwar has decided about the Constituent Assembly. I do not think that any Hindu Prince will think of remaining out, and the sooner they decide to join the Constituent Assembly the better for them and for the country.

Hope you are doing well,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. N. B. Khare
Prime Minister
Alwar, Rajputana

New Delhi
6 June 1947

Dear Friend,

The bearer of this letter waited on me with a deputation regarding the plight of refugees from the Frontier who are residing for the time being in Alwar State. They are from Tonk, where, as you are probably aware, large-scale destruction of non-Muslim life and property was perpetrated. He tells me that the number of refugees in your State is about 3,000 and they are experiencing difficulty in regard to clothing and food. I am trying to

¹ Deposed Premier of CP; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council; once suspected of collusion with RSS which was temporarily banned after assassination of Gandhi

arrange for clothing, but I hope you will do the best you can in the matter of food. If you want any assistance from me, I would of course try to meet you, but I hope you will regard it as primarily for your State to assist them in this matter.

Many other States are doing the same, and in addition, have made a handsome contribution to the Punjab Relief Fund which I have opened. His Highness in his letter to me dated 8 May 1947 regretted his inability to make a contribution on the ground that he was turning every rupee and every ounce of energy to meet the requirements of refugees in the State.

What has HH decided about joining the Constituent Assembly?

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. N. B. Khare
Prime Minister
Alwar State
Alwar, Rajputana

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New Delhi
17 June 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter of 15 June 1947.

I am glad to know that Alwar State is doing so much for the refugees.

I do hope, however, that you will secure from His Highness a very early decision in regard to the Constituent Assembly. I need hardly say that there can be only one wise decision and I hope His Highness would take that decision as soon as possible.

I am writing to the G-in-C about your nephew and after I have ascertained the facts, I shall, if necessary, speak to Baldev Singh.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. N. B. Khare
Alwar

Alwar
17 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar desires me to contact Congress leaders for an informal talk on an important matter pertaining to the question of joining the Constituent Assembly as he thinks it is necessary to do so before a definite step is taken. I shall, therefore, be grateful if you kindly fix any convenient date for an interview after 26 June 1947 and let me know.

Yours sincerely,
N. B. Khare

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
20 June 1947

My dear Dr. Khare,

Please see your letter of 17 June 1947.

I shall be glad to meet His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar on 29 June 1947 at 9.30 a.m. at my residence (1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi).

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. N. B. Khare
Alwar

Alwar
22 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Many thanks for your letter of 20 June. From its contents it appears that there is some misunderstanding which will be clear from the copy of my letter dated 17 June to you enclosed herewith (A). I have also enclosed a copy of your reply to that letter for ready reference (B). It will be clear from the perusal of these two copies that it is myself who has sought the interview and not His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

I had sent on 17 June an exactly similar letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who has given me an appointment at 11 a.m. on 27 June. It will be very convenient for me if you will also kindly give me some time on the same date.

With regards,

Yours sincerely,
N. B. Khare

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Alwar
2 July 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

With regard to the interview you so kindly granted me on 30 June, I have sent a letter to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Constituent Assembly, of which I have enclosed a copy herewith. I hope you will kindly do your best and help me in this matter. Alwar joined CA at long last.

Yours sincerely,
N. B. Khare

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Alwar
2 July 1947

My dear Dr. Rajendra Prasad,

Reference your DO dated 20 June 1947.

It was very kind of you to give me this appointment to wait upon you for an informal discussion about Alwar and some other States joining the Constituent Assembly. I regret I could not keep this appointment because I was suddenly called to Bharatpur and had to leave at 5 a.m. on 29 June.

I am glad to inform you that Alwar has at long last joined the Constituent Assembly and I have sent an official communique to this effect to the Secretary of the Constituent Assembly of India.

I am now writing this letter on behalf of Bharatpur State, whose ruler has also appointed me as an Adviser in these matters. Bharatpur is also anxious to join the Constituent Assembly along with the State of Karauli, which is also anxious to do the same. But there are some difficulties in the way which are as follows:

There is a group of States called the Eastern Group of Rajputana States, which includes about 13 States. This group, having a population of about 3 million, is allotted three seats in the Constituent Assembly and the Raja of Bundi has been appointed the convener for the purpose of selecting them. This group includes the three States of Bharatpur, Karauli and Dholpur. These 3 States are divided from the other 10 States headed by Bundi by the whole of Jaipur State and have nothing common with the 10 States. The 10 States headed by Bundi have got a population of about 2 million and the three States, viz., Dholpur, Bharatpur and Karauli, have got a population of a little over a million. I have to request you, therefore, to kindly split this Eastern Group of Rajputana States into two sub-groups—one headed by Bundi with eight or nine other States having two representatives to the Constituent Assembly and [the] other consisting of Dholpur, Bharatpur and Karauli into another sub-group entitled to send one representative [to] the Constituent Assembly. If you kindly help me in this matter, [the] Bharatpur group will immediately join the Constituent Assembly. I think since the names of the three representatives from this Eastern Group of Rajputana States are not announced it

may be possible to grant my request. If not, if you could see your way anyhow to provide one seat for this group of Bharatpur, I shall be grateful.

Yours sincerely,
N. B. Khare

Dr. Rajendra Prasad
Chairman, Constituent Assembly
New Delhi

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New Delhi
6 July 1947

My dear Dr. Khare,

Thank you for your letter of 5 July 1947. I also received a reply from the Commander-in-Chief that while at present your nephew had been rejected for a permanent commission, he hoped that when further permanent vacancies were filled, he could apply and it might be possible for him to be selected.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. N. B. Khare
Alwar

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New Delhi
7 August 1947

My dear Dr. Khare,

The bearer of this letter is a worker from Gurgaon who says that about a lakh of Meos who had left Alwar and Bharatpur and are now residing in Gurgaon wish to return to the States under such conditions as you might lay down. They are now in a penitent mood and are prepared to accept any reasonable conditions which you might impose on their return. I feel that the matter should be settled because they are definitely a liability in Gurgaon, and if continued in this present position they might get more desperate instead of being cowed down, as they are at present.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. N. B. Khare
Alwar

Council House
New Delhi
7 July 1947

My dear Shankar,

With reference to Dr. Khare's letter addressed to Dr. Rajendra Prasad of which a copy has been sent to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel regarding Bharatpur State, I enclose a copy of a telegram that has been sent today to Dr. Khare.

Yours sincerely,
H. V. R. Iengar

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS
Private Secy. to the Hon'ble
Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE
TELEGRAM

Council House
New Delhi
7 July 1947

Doctor Khare
Prime Minister
Alwar

YOUR LETTER DATED 2 JULY. I UNDERSTAND AT MEETING OF RAJPUTANA STATES OFFER WAS MADE TO BHARATPUR, KARALI AND DHOLPUR TO NOMINATE ONE REPRESENTATIVE ON BEHALF OF WHOLE GROUP AND THIS WAS TURNED DOWN. THIS IS PRACTICALLY THE SAME AS YOUR SUGGESTION TO FORM SEPARATE GROUP. I AM SURE IF YOU GET IN TOUCH WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF GROUP, PROPOSAL CAN BE REVIVED AND AGREED UPON. MAHARAJ NAGENDRA SINGH DEFENCE DEPARTMENT WOULD BE PREPARED IF YOU LIKE TO TAKE NECESSARY STEPS.

RAJENDRA PRASAD

New Delhi
4 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

As you know the Rulers of some States, for instance, Alwar, Bharatpur, Jodhpur, are misbehaving in their States. The brother of the Bharatpur Ruler is a Minister and is definitely implicated in dacoities and looting. Jodhpur has installed a foolish young man of 18 to be Home Minister. [C. S.] Venkatachar¹ had to leave because of these changes.

These Rulers are exceedingly foolish and are injuring themselves and their States. It is perhaps true that we cannot take any very effective steps against them at present. That is for you to judge, but to remain silent at their misbehaviour may also have bad consequences. I suggest that your States Ministry might point out to them that what they are doing is objectionable and harmful. Further that we might stop all export of arms and petrol to these States. Petrol is specially important.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
5 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 4 November regarding certain States. We are already collecting evidence about Bharatpur and further action against the State will depend on the nature of the evidence. I have no information about the person who has been appointed as Home Minister. I have met Venkatachar and it appears that he had to leave on account of differences more fundamental than mere changes in personnel.

¹ ICS; Secretary, Ministry of States, Government of India, August 1951-55; Prime Minister, Jodhpur, 1946-47 and Udaipur, 1948-49; High Commissioner for India in Canada

2. The internal position of some of these States is already under my consideration and you can rest assured that whatever action is necessary and expedient will be taken. The present atmosphere and condition in the country makes it necessary to handle the State questions with a degree of caution and tact.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister
New Delhi

CHAPTER XIII
PRINCES AND REFORMS

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Lallgarh
Bikaner
(Rajputana)
1 February 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I have been very anxious to meet you and have an informal talk in regard to the present constitutional discussions, but to my great regret it was not possible for us to meet on the last two occasions when I was in Delhi, as you were so busy each time. I am however keen to do so at the earliest opportunity. I am arriving in Delhi on the morning of 7 February in connection with the Negotiating Committee work. I am therefore writing to say that it will give me great pleasure if you will come and lunch with me that day at 1-00 p.m. at Bikaner House. I do not propose asking any one else but if you have no objection would like Mr. Panikkar¹ to be present.

If however you are not free for lunch that day I shall be grateful if you will come for a quiet talk any time convenient to you or preferably come and have tea with me that afternoon.

I shall be grateful for an urgent telegraphic reply if possible.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sadul Singh
[Maharaja of Bikaner]

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

¹ K. M. Panikkar: Prime Minister of Bikaner; later joined Indian diplomatic service; Ambassador to China, UAR and France

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
4 February 1947

His Highness Maharaja
Lallgarh
Bikaner

MANY THANKS YOUR LETTER 1 FEBRUARY. MUCH REGRET OWING ASSEMBLY SESSION AND COMMITTEE MEETINGS MORNING AND EVENING UNABLE ACCEPT YOUR VERY KIND INVITATION TO LUNCH OR TEA OR TALK ANY OTHER TIME. COULD MEET YOU IN MY ROOM IN ASSEMBLY CHAMBER AT 11 A.M. ON 7TH. HOPE THAT SUITS YOU.

VALLABHBHAI

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Bikaner
10 March 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Herewith the Bikaner Gazette Notification about participation in the Constituent Assembly. I propose to be elected by the Legislature and as the session is to be held next week, we shall have the result of the election announced in time.

Jaipur, Jodhpur, Patiala, Udaipur and Rewa will follow suit immediately.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Panikkar

ENCLOSURE

Lallgarh

8 March 1947

His Highness the Maharaja has noted with great satisfaction that the States Negotiating Committee and the Negotiating Committee appointed by the Constituent Assembly have reached a satisfactory agreement on the question of the allocation of seats allotted to the States and the method of sending the States' representatives to the Constituent Assembly. His Highness the Maharaja is, therefore, pleased to announce that in terms of the agreement reached Bikaner State intends to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly.

By Command
K. M. Panikkar
Prime Minister

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New Delhi

16 March 1947

My dear Sardar Panikkar,

I have your letter of the 10th instant. I am glad that so many Princes are getting out of the cordon. Let us hope that they will all come in now. You must have seen our resolution of the Working Committee. It has been very well received all throughout.

You have seen what is happening in the Punjab. I hope there will be no sympathy from any quarters for the Muslim League any more, not even amongst any of the Princes.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sardar K. M. Panikkar
Prime Minister
Bikaner

[Maharaja's appeal to the Princes of 1 April and his statement to the Press dated 24 April 1947—See Appendix II.]

Bikaner
3 April 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

You would have seen from newspaper reports that the States have ratified the agreement and also allowed all those who desire to go in, to join the Constituent Assembly when the States concerned consider it appropriate. These things I would suggest to you.

(1) A resolution somewhat on the following lines:

“The Constituent Assembly after hearing the report of the States’ Committee confirms the general agreements reached with the Negotiating Committee representing the Indian States and resolves that the proceedings are noted and recorded.”

(2) The question of representation on the Union Powers and Fundamental Rights Committee is one of great importance. I do not think the Chancellor will nominate his quota. His technical ground will be that till the agreement is accepted by the Constituent Assembly, his “mandate” prevents him from doing anything. The object, of course, is to delay. In the circumstances I would recommend that after giving him a chance you should nominate to the Powers Committee three Ministers and two representatives of the people. In regard to the latter I would urge the name of Mr. Pattom Thanu Pillai, President of the Travancore State Congress, and some one from the Gujarat States.

The third point relates to the attendance of those of us who have been elected. We desire to attend the next session. We can of course take our seats only after the Constituent Assembly has accepted the agreement. So are we to arrive in Delhi and be available, because if the resolution is not coming up early in the Assembly there is little that we shall have to do. About 20 representatives of the States, 3 from Baroda, 3 from Jaipur, 4 from Gwalior, 2 each from Jodhpur, Udaipur, Patiala and Rewa and one each from Bikaner and Cochin (20 in all) will be there on the first day. I am hopeful that the Southern Maratha States will also elect their representatives in time for their presence in Delhi by that time. So I suggest that the Assembly Secretariat may

decide the procedure early and inform us. Also no doubt you will arrange for some suggestion being conveyed to other groups that it will be advisable to proceed with their elections.

In Bombay it was a difficult fight, but we got it through all right.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Panikkar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Bikaner
15 June 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I had intended to talk to you at some length about certain matters affecting the Home Department in relation to the States, but on the day I came to you we were both in such a hurry that I did not get the time. The matter is of the utmost importance and cannot wait any longer.

With the termination of the Political Agencies, the secret police work in respect of the States also ceases. Originally this was one of the main functions of the Political Department, but in recent years, this had become unimportant, though there is still a Police Adviser to the Resident in most residencies. The work of the secret police in regard to the States not joining the Union has become suddenly most important. You must have had information about the attempts at gunrunning (through agency of Mr. Kendall and others) that some princes are said to be interested in. There are others who have been manufacturing arms and our megalomaniac friend G.P. [Ramaswami Aiyar¹] has other schemes up his sleeves.

These are apart from such widely prevalent activities as opium smuggling and other criminal activities which also require careful watching.

¹Secretary, All India Congress, 1917-18; Advocate-General, Madras, 1920-23; Law Member, Madras Government, 1923-28; attended London Round Table Conference, 1930-32; Dewan of Travancore, 1936-42; Member, Viceroy's Executive Council for a brief period in August 1942; reappointed Dewan of Travancore, 1942-47

Clearly, it is of the utmost importance that the Government of India should immediately organise an information system, within those States whose declared intention is to keep out of the Union.

A further point of importance is the attempt of the Communists to transfer their activities into the States. The State police forces are inadequately organised to meet this menace. In fact the State CID-Generals report of the activities of the Congress and the Praja Parishads, as they are 20 years behind the British Indian Police. The Communists know this and to my knowledge cells have been created in Indian States. Now unless your police work takes in the States also in this respect, that is to say unless the anti-Communist section of the CID keeps strict watch on similar movements in the States, you will find that your work is undone, through these large gaps.

Police co-ordination in State areas will also cease with the withdrawal of the Residents. At the present time the police adviser to the Resident co-ordinates this work and the Inspectors-General of the States, say, of Rajputana are in contact with this officer.

In short, I consider it important that the Home Department should without delay take the following actions:

- (1) Extend their political CID work to the States that have declared their intention of becoming independent.

- (2) Extend the work of the anti-Communist section to all States and

- (3) Maintain police co-ordination officers at places like Ajmer for Rajputana, Ambala for the Punjab States, Rajkot for Kathiawad, etc., so that police work in the States can be co-ordinated.

If this is not done the work of the Home Department will itself suffer.

There is a further point which I had also intended to mention to you. There are many indirect methods of pressure on States which keep out of the Union, which you might consider. I mention a few.

The investments of Rulers are now free from income-tax. This is a privilege which is available only to Indian Princes. When such Princes claim independence their investments become subject to income-tax.

The privileges which Rulers enjoy in British India arise out of paramountcy and not out of international law. It may be made clear that these privileges, including customs privileges, will cease on the States declaring their independence.

It is a matter for consideration whether such Indian States as stand out of the Union should be allowed membership of all-India bodies like the Agricultural Research Council, Inter-University Board and other organisations.

It is necessary that there should be an office in the Central Government which will study the problems of the new relationships with the States and work out the details. This has become most urgent, as we have but little time, especially where we consider that the States which have declared their intention to non-co-operate are Hyderabad and Travancore.

This letter has become unnecessarily long, but there are many other points to which I should like to have drawn attention. Though you must be exceptionally busy I trust you will find some time to look into these matters.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Panikkar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Bikaner
5 July 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

I understand from private sources that the Muslim League is likely to put forward claims for the control of regulation of water at Ferozepore headworks in the Sutlej valley canals. By the national partition, Ferozepore is very definitely within the Indian area. You are no doubt aware that over 1,000 sq. miles of Bikaner territory are irrigated by the Sutlej valley canals with their headworks at Ferozepore. If the Muslim League is given any control in the regulation of water in the headworks, our interests stand very much to suffer.

As you are in charge of the States Department and also one of the members of the higher Council for Partition, I hope you will take the necessary steps to see that Ferozepore headworks are controlled entirely from Hindustan and that Bikaner interests in this matter are amply safeguarded.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. M. Panikkar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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New Delhi
7 July 1947

My dear Panikkar,

Thank you for your letter dated 5 July 1947.

In the first instance, the matter will have to be dealt with between East and West Punjab. I have, therefore, sent a copy of your letter to Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, who is a nominee of East Punjab on the Partition Council of the Punjab. I have told him that in the first place I see no reason why the control should in any way go out of East Punjab, in whose territory it is situated, but if some joint arrangements have to be made, he should see that our interests and those of your State are fully safeguarded. Later, when the question comes before the Partition Council here, I shall certainly do my best.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Sardar K. M. Panikkar
Bikaner

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New Delhi
7 July 1947

My dear Dr. Gopichand,

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I have received from Sardar K. M. Panikkar. The matter affects more than one province; it affects both Bikaner and Bahawalpur States. It is likely, therefore, that you will have to deal with this question in the first instance, and later on it will come to us for finality. The headworks would be situated in Eastern Punjab territory, and therefore the West Punjab should have nothing to do with it. But

if you agree to any joint arrangements, you should see that our interests and those of Bikaner are fully safeguarded.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dr. Gopichand Bhargava
Lajpatrai Bhavan
Lahore

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Lajpatrai Bhavan
Lahore
11 July 1947

My dear Sardar,

I am in due receipt of your letter of 7 July along with a copy of a letter from Sardar K. M. Panikkar to your address.

I consulted Sardar Swaran Singh¹ in the matter and we propose not to accept any joint arrangements with the West. However, when the matter comes up for discussion I shall inform you. I have sent a reply to S. Panikkar, a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Lajpatrai Bhavan
Lahore
11 July 1947

My dear Sardar,

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has forwarded to me a copy of your letter dated 5 July regarding control of water at headworks at Ferozepore in the Sutlej Valley canals.

¹ Member of Partition Committee in Punjab; Home Minister, Punjab, 1947-49; Minister of Capital Project and Electricity, Punjab, April-May, 1952; member, Union Cabinet since May 1952; Minister of External Affairs since June 1970

We are of the opinion that the West Punjab should have no concern with it and we propose not to accept any joint arrangements. However, if anything is done to the contrary, I shall inform you well in time. I am writing to Sardar Patel as well.

Yours sincerely,
Gopichand Bhargava

Sardar K. M. Panikkar
Prime Minister
Bikaner

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TELEGRAM

Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

IN CONNECTION WITH PARTITION OF INTERESTS IN PUNJAB I INVITE YOUR SPECIAL ATTENTION TO THE VERY VITAL INTERESTS OF BIKANER IN SUTLEJ VALLEY CANALS WHICH IRRIGATE NORTHERN PORTION OF MY TERRITORIES AND ON WHICH NOT ONLY BIKANER BUT LARGE AREAS OF RAJPUTANA ARE DEPENDENT FOR THEIR FOODGRAINS. I AM TELEGRAPHING TO EXPRESS THE EARNEST HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE GOOD ENOUGH TO ENSURE THAT IN THE ARRANGEMENTS THAT ARE BEING MADE OUR INTERESTS ARE NOT INTERFERED WITH AND THAT THE RIGHTS OF BIKANER STATE IN THIS CONNECTION ARE ADEQUATELY SAFEGUARDED ON WHICH DEPEND THE ENTIRE ECONOMIC POSITION AND PROSPERITY OF MY STATE AND PEOPLE. KINDEST REGARDS.

MAHARAJA BIKANER

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EXTRACTS

Devi Bhavan
Bombay
15 July 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

In my statement to the Press dated 9 July I have already publicly congratulated you on your great statement enunciating the policy of the new States Department which the Government of India have set up under you, as well as the policy of the

Congress; and may I take this opportunity of sending you my very best wishes in the onerous duties which have fallen upon you in your new office as Minister in charge of that Department?

The fact that one of the most respected and mature statesmen and leaders of your experience and judgment has been chosen is, I feel, a happy augury. It is most gratifying to recall that you have always shown a realistic and cordial attitude towards the States. The friendly hand that you have so spontaneously extended to the Princes and States, as evidenced by your recent statement, is, I need hardly assure you, greatly appreciated by us.

We are confident that we may look forward to an association of full co-operation with you and a sympathetic understanding at your hands of the very important problems vitally affecting States at the present transitional stage, thus enabling the States to take their due and honoured place in the future Union of India, in the making of which we are all proud to give our wholehearted support. I know that the interests of the Princes and States are safe in your hands.

As I have already telegraphed to you, it is essential that we should have a full and frank and heart-to-heart discussion in regard to this, and as suggested in my letter to Pandit Nehru, which I should like to repeat to you, we should have a meeting as soon as possible between our group of States (Baroda, Gwalior, Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Patiala, Rewa and Bikaner) and certain prominent Indian leaders so that we may come to a satisfactory agreement and understanding which is most essential in the interests of the whole country and those of peace and tranquillity.

I am confident that we can rely upon you to appreciate our standpoint and difficulties and to use your good offices in the settlement of the various issues involved in a satisfactory and amicable manner.

With kindest regards and hoping that this finds you fit and well and greatly looking forward to our meeting soon,

Yours very sincerely,
Sadul Singh

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

Office of the President
Rajputana Regional Council (of the
All-India States Peoples' Conference)
3 Sangidas Building
Jodhpur
29 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I am sending herewith a copy of letter addressed by me to the Maharana Sahib of Udaipur on the subject of "Union of Rajasthan." Since there is a move among the princes to form Unions with nominal popular representation in the Union Legislatures and create an executive themselves without any reference to the people, it is essential that the people should be on their guard and see that fascist confederations are not created that may have representation in the Union of India in the name of popular assemblies in the States or States Union without the people having any effective hand in the administration of their own affairs.

As one responsible for the shaping of the destiny of the States and their people to fit in the picture of a free and united India, you would, I hope, take personal interest in the matter and see that real unions of the States are formed for the groups of States and not the Princes' Unions wherein people may not play the role of free men and may be treated like chattels.

Yours sincerely,
Jai Narain Vyas

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

3 Sangidas Building
Jodhpur
7 July 1947

Respected Sardar Sahib,

I have received your letter of the 3rd instant. I am not frightened by the efforts of the Rajputana princes to form a union. What I wanted to hint [at] was that no union should be acceptable to the High Command that may not incorporate a popular element in the administration. I had wanted the Maharana to clarify certain points in that connection. You might have seen from the previous correspondence that all these large States of Rajputana except Udaipur did not join the Union and the non-participant States form the majority. Being the head of the States Department you should be informed of the real position. I can assure you that my organisation is not sitting idle and would do its best to help the Princes to form such democratic unions [as] may be helpful both to the Central Government and the people of the States.

Now I have to bring some additional facts to your notice. They are as under:

- (1) The Resident, Rajputana, is reported to have gone to Udaipur and is said to be at the back of the Union;
- (2) The Resident, Rajputana, had gone to Indore also and I am given to understand from reliable sources that he is manoeuvring to distribute the Crown Representative Police (stationed at Neemuch) numbering from 1,200 to 1,400 among the reactionary States under the influence of Bhopal.

All these moves are being watched by us and we have every reason to suspect the bona fides of such moves and shall if necessary fight all reactionary attempts. We wish you should guide us and help us by telling the Princes that their wrong efforts cannot be backed by the Centre.

Of course, we would concentrate on building and strengthening . . . our organisation. We, however, do not like to take hasty actions or any such steps that may prejudice the shape of things in the country that are in the making. We cannot forget

that we are Indians first and all our attempts for the States should be made in such a way that they may help them to fit in an all-India setting.

I hope you would not mind having this information and our humble opinions and suggestions on matters concerning the States.

I would reach Delhi on the morning of the 13th to attend the meetings of the Constituent Assembly of India and would like to discuss these problems in person too at your convenience.

Yours sincerely,
Jai Narain Vyas

ENCLOSURE

Jodhpur
29 June 1947

From
Jai Narain Vyas
President
Rajputana Regional Council
(of the All-India States Peoples' Conference)
3 Sangidas Building
Jodhpur

To
His Highness Maharana Shri Bhopalsinghji Sahib
President
Union of Rajasthan
Udaipur

May it please Your Highness,

I have read with much interest the account of the formation of the "Union of Rajasthan" which would "co-ordinate the activities of the participating States in certain matters of common interest."

I understand that the Covenant signed by the member States says that

"whilst preserving the monarchical form of government in the participant States, the Union may join the Union of India as a democratic unit."

I have read Your Highness' speech wherein Your Highness made references about the people of the States as well. Your Highness is reported to have said

"Our people must feel that they have a responsible share in the larger unity which we are creating. Without their confidence our effort cannot succeed

and I, therefore, consider it essential that there should be a representative popular Assembly of the Union."

THE PARTICIPATING STATES

I read from the papers that the following States have agreed to join the "Union of Rajasthan":

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1. Mewar | 2. Bundi | 3. Kota | 4. Dungarpur |
| 5. Vijaynagar | 6. Karauli | 7. Kishengarh | 8. Pratapgarh |
| 9. Ratlam | 10. Jaisalmer | 11. Sailana | 12. Palanpur |
| 13. Idar | 14. Banswara. | | |

Among the above States Ratlam and Sailana do not hail from what is today called Rajputana. Vijaynagar is a non-salute State.

NON-PARTICIPANT STATES

The following States seem to have not joined the Union as yet:

- | | | | |
|-------------|-------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. Jodhpur | 2. Bikaner | 3. Jaipur | 4. Bharatpur |
| 5. Dholpur | 6. Jhalawar | 7. Alwar | 8. Lawa |
| 9. Shahpura | 10. Tonk | 11. Kushalgarh | 12. Danta |
| 13. Sirohi. | | | |

Thus the position is that out of 25 units of Rajputana, 12 have agreed to join the Union and 13 kept aloof. This does not constitute the larger unity. But let us hope the non-participating States may join the Union at a later stage.

THE POSITION OF THE PEOPLE

The question before me is: What would be the position of the people in this "larger unity"? Your Highness' suggestion that "there should be a representative popular Assembly of the Union" does not give us any idea as to what sort of assembly is proposed. It is said that the meeting decided that "every constituent State should establish popular Legislatures in their respective States and members for the Union Legislatures should be elected by such Legislatures."

These "popular" legislatures may be legislatures based on limited franchise and with franchise in such a proportion that the representation of the masses may be just nominal. It is desirable that the Legislatures in the States should be based on adult franchise and such special representation should not be given to vested interests as may make the voice of the masses ineffective as has been done recently in many States. I hope Your Highness would make this point clear.

THE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE UNION

Then again we cannot find from the Press report as to who would shoulder the responsibility of the administration of the Union.

I have seen some of the schemes framed by certain groups of States and individual Rulers regarding collective administration of the States in those groups. I find that they generally propose to get the executive of the Union elected by the Princes. If it is so in the case of "Union of Rajasthan" also the whole scheme framed at Udaipur would become rather a curse than a boon for the people. I shall be grateful to Your Highness if you would let me know as to whether the members of the Union Legislature would be entitled to elect or create an executive composed of popular representatives and whether that executive would be responsible to the Union Legislature or not.

POPULAR CO-OPERATION

Lest misunderstandings may spread among the people about the objective aimed at by the Rajasthan Princes it is, I respectfully suggest, necessary that popular co-operation be taken even at this stage in the matter of the framing of the Union Constitution.

A Union that incorporates nominal popular representation but arms the Princes or the States bureaucracy in the States with real powers in the matter of administering the affairs of the States would not satisfy the people's ambitions and would rather create an unnecessary gulf between the Princes and the people.

I would, therefore, request Your Highness to kindly clarify the points raised above and move in the direction of taking popular co-operation in the matter of evolving a union that may satisfy both the Princes and people's points of view.

I hope Your Highness would take this in the light it has been written and see that such a "Union of Rajasthan" is formed that commands the confidence of the Princes and people alike.

Your Highness' truly,
Jai Narain Vyas

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New Delhi
3 July 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of 29 June 1947. The efforts to form unions amongst Princes need not frighten you. It is up to the people of the States to influence such unions or form proper democratic unions, but if the people would not move or would not play their part, no amount of assistance from above would

help. Your organisation should, therefore, concentrate on building up the strength of the people.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri Jai Narain Vyas
President
Rajputana Regional Council of AISPC
3 Sangidas Building
Jodhpur

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Anand Bhavan
Udaipur
20 May 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I received Shri Maniben's letter of condolence [which] my wife brought here a few days ago.

After I left Delhi I came over here for a day and the Maharana asked me to help him in reorganising the State and putting through a constitution. He has appointed me his Constitutional Adviser and I have accepted the work without any remuneration. I have overhauled the whole constitution subject to the peculiar conditions of Mewar which are medieval. I have tried to make it as democratic as possible. Possibly the constitution will be announced on the 23rd when Pratap Jayanti is being celebrated here. I have provided for adult franchise and practically all the power will go to the Legislature except those which are necessary to maintain the dignity of the Ruler and Defence and External Affairs. I have advised the Maharana to take up interim Ministers. Unfortunately the Praja Mandal is not very powerful in the State and has exaggerated notions of its claims. But I hope to satisfy them; otherwise we will have elections. At the same time there are large funds for religious charity which I am trying to apply to the purposes of a university. Perhaps that announcement will also be made on the 23rd. The efforts that I am putting forward are very strenuous. It may even lead to a wider union of Rajasthan, if I can do it.

The Jam affair seems to have gone phut. I am glad to learn that Jamsaheb had come to see you. Everything must have gone well.

Things are moving very fast in Delhi and my heart is there.
With kindest regards to Maniben and yourself from both
of us,

Yours very sincerely,
K. M. Munshi

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Camp Birla House
Mussoorie
26 May 1947

My dear Munshi,

I have received your letter of the 20th instant.

I learnt from the papers that you were at Udaipur as Constitutional Adviser to the Maharana. I am sorry to hear that the Praja Mandal's attitude is not helpful. I do not know who is the principal man there; if you will let me know, and if I can be of any help, I will certainly be glad to do so.

I am glad you are arranging to divert old types of charities to better use. I have seen the announcement in the Press.

At present, of the Rajputana States, Alwar has still kept out. He is still under the influence of Bhopal. Perhaps you can do something from that end.

Another State which is under Bhopal's influence is Indore, but I understand Jamsaheb is trying to bring him in. I had spoken to him about it.

I am returning to Delhi on the 28th and I will expect to hear from you further about your progress.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri K. M. Munshi
Anand Bhavan
Udaipur

Nagamangala
21 January 1947

From

Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda
Member of the Assembly
Nagamangala Post (Mysore State)

To

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

Honoured Sir,

While releasing the correspondence between myself and the President of the Mysore State Congress from 18 December 1946 to 21 January 1947 and at the same time respectfully submitting the copies of correspondence for your kind perusal, I beg to state that the president of the Mysore State Congress is demanding "responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people" violating your definite advice tendered to the Baroda (Congress) Praja Mandal to demand "responsible administration without ending the Princely Order."

In Mysore the Representative Assembly consisting of 311 members (of which 10 are nominated by the Government) are the real representatives of the whole of the 75 lakh people in the State. Out of 301 members only 130 members do belong to the Congress party in the Assembly. The Mysore Congress is definitely a minority party and the rest non-Congress members do desire that "sovereignty should be vested with the Maharaja and not with the people." Under these circumstances, the Mysore Congress cannot boast that they represent all the people of Mysore State. At the most, the Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly can represent the views of 30 lakhs of people. When the majority [of the] members of the Assembly object to the demand for "responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people," the cry of the Mysore Congress will be only in the wilderness. As such I humbly request your honour to advise the Mysore Congress to demand only "responsible administration without ending the Princely Order."

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I would not have submitted this correspondence to your honour but for the Mysore Congress President [who] is [freely] advertising your honour's name during his tour with a view to get support from the gullible public for their proposed satyagraha movement to attain "responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people."

I solicit your kind instructions in the matter.

I beg to remain,
Honoured Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. Sankar Lingegowda
Member of the Assembly

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New Delhi
2 February 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of 21 January.

I do not understand what is your stand regarding the demand for responsible government in Mysore. This is an old demand which has so often been repeated by the Mysore Congress and its representatives in the Assembly that no exception can be taken by anybody to such a demand. The words "wherein sovereignty vests in the people" added to the "demand for responsible government" are superfluous, and its addition in the principal demand makes no change in the meaning.

Your inference that these words would mean ending the Princely Order is only unjustified. Sovereignty in England vests in the people of England and not in His Majesty the King. It is a constitutional phrase and its meaning is clear. No man in his senses in the modern world believes that sovereignty vests in any single individual, whether he be a prince or a monarch, or a Czar or a Hitler.

Responsible administration means nothing. What is wanted is responsible government in the Indian States, and any attempt to draw difference between responsible government and responsible administration is bound to create suspicion. Therefore, I would advise you to join the demand for responsible government with the Mysore Congress; and if you make a unanimous demand of that nature from the Legislature, I am prepared to advise the
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Mysore Congress to drop the words to which you object about the vesting of sovereignty in the people. Even without your admission in that behalf, sovereignty is not going to vest anywhere else. I do not understand this kind of quibbling. Let us tackle this problem in a more practical manner. If Mysore, which has been one of the most advanced States in India, gibes even at this stage in granting the long overdue demand of the Congress for responsible government, you may take it that the State will have to face serious troubles in the near future. Nothing in the world can prevent the rapidly marching forces of progress, and it is wise to recognise the writing on the wall.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda
Member of the Assembly
Nagamangala Post (Mysore State)

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New Delhi
2 February 1947

Dear Friend,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter from Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda, elected member of the Assembly, Nagamangala Post (Mysore State), and my reply thereto.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri K. Changalaraya Reddi
President, Mysore Congress
Bangalore City

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Bangalore City
10 February 1947

Dear Sardarji,

I am in receipt of your letter of 2 February, enclosing copies of the letter from Shri Sankar Lingegowda and your reply thereto.

I have been touring the entire State during the last two and a half months. The tour ended only recently. It was undertaken

to strengthen the Congress organisation, mobilize the strength of the people for the struggle to achieve the goal of responsible government and to collect funds. I am glad to inform you that the tour was successful and satisfactory from every point of view.

I regret I was not able to write to you personally till now. I hope, however, you know the political situation in Mysore from the periodical letters that you are receiving from our office and Shri Nijalingappa's personal talks with you.

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress resolved demanding that the objective of the proposed reforms contemplated in the Royal message should be the immediate establishment of responsible government. The copy of the resolution has been sent to you. There has been no reaction on the part of the Dewan so far to our resolution. Meanwhile, however, the Government have introduced the cumulative voting system for District Board election to prevent the Congress from getting majorities in the District Boards, where two-fifths of the members are nominated by the Government. Prohibitory orders are also passed all over the State on the pretext of communal tension. The communal organisations and their activities are being given a fillip by the Government.

Our Working Committee is meeting on the 16th instant to review the present situation and decide upon a dynamic course of action. It appears to me that the objective of full responsible government at an early date can be achieved only by a programme of direct action. The only question is when it has to be started.

I shall be glad to have your guidance and advice from time to time.

With warm regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. Changalaraya Reddi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Camp General Hospital
Mandya
16 February 1947

From

Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda
Elected Member of the Mysore Assembly
Nagamangala Post (Mysore State)

To

Sardar Vallabhbhai J. Patel
Member of the Working Committee of the
Indian National Congress
1 Aurangzeb Road
New Delhi

Respected Sir,

I received your kind letter dated 2 February 1947 on 11 February 1947 at Mandya Camp, while I was an in-patient in the General Hospital. I carefully studied your letter and noted the contents therein.

Before I begin to reply, I beg to state that the gist of your letter addressed to me has been published in The Indian Express. Perhaps, the Mysore Congress must have given this information to the Press, as the Mysore Congress must have received the copy of the letter sent by you for their information. You have replied to me in the capacity of [a] member of the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress; but the Mysore Congress have given the information to the Press that you, in the capacity of Home Member of the Interim Government of India, have replied to me. This is the way how Mysore Congress are creating mischief.

(2) When you were at Baroda to preside over the Praja Mandal Conference, you openly declared that the best suitable form of government applicable to Indian States is the "responsible administration without ending the Princely Order." In the evening, when I had a discussion with you at Baroda, you explained to me the meaning of "responsible administration without ending the Princely Order" as "elected ministers responsible to the Legis-

lature subject to the control of a king." Now you definitely say "responsible administration" means nothing and what is wanted is "responsible government in the Indian States."

(3) You say that you are prepared to advise the Mysore Congress to drop the words "wherein the sovereignty vests with the people" used after the term "responsible government" and at the same time you are of opinion that the words "wherein the sovereignty vests in the people" added to the demand for "responsible government" are superfluous and its addition in the principal demand makes no change in the meaning. If that be the meaning, His Gracious Highness will certainly lose his sovereign powers enjoyed by him from time immemorial. Hitherto, we were under the impression that the demand of responsible government does not take away the sovereign powers of His Highness and you have now made it clear that it does take away the sovereign power; as such, I am justified in saying that "responsible government" ends once for all the Princely Order.

(4) The Mysore Congress have accepted the following fundamental principles at the time of getting their political party recognized by His Highness's Government: (1) His Highness shall be the hereditary monarch, (2) His Highness shall be the Commander-in-Chief of Forces, (3) The executive power of the State should be vested in the Maharaja, and (4) His Highness shall represent the State in all its foreign relations. The Mysore State Congress now desire to have a "Democratic Government with His Highness as the Constitutional Head exercising power through a Cabinet responsible to the Legislature" in their Memorial submitted to His Gracious Highness on 4 January 1947. Again, the Mysore State Congress Working Committee have made a resolution on 24 January 1947 desiring to have "an Interim Government consisting of leaders of public opinion capable of having the support of the Legislature." Supposing the order of His Highness is not carried out by the Cabinet, what will be the position of His Highness? His Highness should remain as a figurehead. Supposing the order of His Highness is carried out by the Cabinet against the will of the Legislature, what will be the position of the Cabinet? The Cabinet will be removed by the Legislature at once. This system of government will not at all work smoothly. Instead of plainly requesting His Highness in their Memorial to establish "responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people", they have used a different language curtailing the powers of His Highness making him a figurehead.

(5) You clearly write that Mysore State will have to face serious troubles in the near future, if the Congress demand of responsible government is not granted. Out of 311 members in the Assembly nearly 182 non-Congress members do not desire to have responsible government and at the same time they desire that the sovereign power should be vested with the Maharaja. In this connection, the Mysore Congress will not get any help from the non-Congress members of the Assembly.

(6) On 6 February 1947, I have finally submitted a scheme regarding the grant of future reforms with reference to His Gracious Highness's Message dated 8 January 1947 and I am enclosing it for your kind perusal. The main principles are:

a. His Highness shall be the Supreme Head of the State and his Dewan is his representative responsible to His Highness.

b. To gain back the territories ceded to the East India Company in the year 1799 before the Britishers quit India.

c. There should be a unicameral legislature consisting of not more than 200 members.

d. The policy of the Government should be conducted by His Highness's Executive Council consisting of the Dewan and other two members elected and removable by a unicameral legislature subject to the veto of the Maharaja.

e. Eight Ministers and eight Secretaries to Government shall be chosen by His Highness from different recognized political parties in the Assembly according to their strength in order and these Ministers and the Secretaries are removable by the members of the Assembly.

We have taken oath that we will be loyal to His Highness, his heirs and his successors and we will stick up to the very end and we do not like to commit sin by demanding the "responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people."

In conclusion, I humbly request you to advise the Mysore State Congress to support my scheme of reforms which has been so designed safeguarding the fundamental rights of the Maharaja as well as his subjects.

I crave your pardon for having occupied your precious time,

I beg to remain,

Respected Sir,

Yours most obedient servant

M. Sankar Lingegowda

Member of the Assembly

New Delhi
26 February 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 16th instant.

I do not see any objection to the publication of the substance of my letter to you in *The Indian Express*. It is possible that the Mysore Congress may have given this information for publication, but I do not see why we should worry about such publication. What I had written to you was nothing secret. My opinion in the matter is not one for private information and another for public information.

I have no recollection of your being present at the time of my presiding over the Baroda Praja Mandal Conference, but what I said then still holds good. Responsible administration does not mean ending the Princely Order. Nobody in the Mysore State Congress desires the ending of the Princely Order, but your idea of Princely Order seems to differ materially from others' and also from mine. No one in the world believes that sovereignty vests anywhere except with the people—either in England, or in any State in India, or anywhere outside. If you believe that the Mysore Maharaja has got the hereditary right to enjoy unlimited authority over his people, or any authority different from that which His Majesty the King Emperor enjoys over his people in England, you are much mistaken.

Any commitments made by the Mysore Congress in the past may not be binding in the changed set of circumstances. All the Princes in India were swearing loyalty to His Majesty the King and they felt proud in doing so. From June 1948 there will be no Sovereign in India, and paramountcy will evaporate in the air. You don't seem to realize the momentous changes that are taking place with electrical rapidity and therefore you find difficulty in understanding the attitude of the Mysore Congress or the contents of my letter. All Princes in India will have to adapt themselves to changed circumstances and accept the position of a constitutional head as that of His Majesty the King Emperor in England.

The arguments that you have advanced in paragraph five are such as were used against us by the British Government in

the past, but they have now realized the force of our claim and decided to quit. It is wise to recognize the sign of times, and it is unwise to persist in old theories which are antiquated.

To talk of loyalty on the ground of oath is absurd. You know we have also taken oath, but that does not mean that it is inconsistent with our claim for free and independent India. Your ideas of morality and sin are antiquated and such as would befit the old type of courtiers in Indian States. It is not surprising that your scheme of reform is consistent with your attitude as disclosed in your letter with reference to the position of the Princes and their people.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda
Nagamangala Post (Mysore State)

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New Delhi
13 February 1947

My dear Changalaraya,

I have received your letter of the 10th instant.

I have seen the resolution of the Mysore Congress demanding that the objective of the proposed reforms contemplated in the Royal message should be the immediate establishment of responsible government. I was expecting that the Dewan's reaction would be known in course of time, but I understand he has kept quiet and is now proceeding to America for six weeks. What is going to happen in the interval I do not know.

The cumulative voting system may affect the Congress position to some extent, but it should not be such as to reduce it to a minority in the election. The Congress must have a hold on the general population.

I do not know why the Congress should be forced to resort to direct action at this stage when the Constituent Assembly is going to draft the Constitution for an Indian Republic and the States have agreed to join in it. Why has your Maharaja left the thing to the Dewan and not made the declaration himself? In any case, I will await the developments there with interest.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri K. Changalaraya Reddi
Bangalore City

Bangalore City
25 February 1947

Dear Sardarji,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 13th instant. I regret I have not been able to reply earlier as I was on tour.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the resolution passed by our Working Committee [of the Mysore Congress] on the 17th instant. The resolution is self-explanatory. The Dewan after his return from Delhi made an apologetic statement at a communal conference, where he was presented an address, that he could not take expeditious steps in the matter of formulating further reforms, as he had to be away at Delhi for a long time and he had to proceed to America as the principal delegate for India to participate in the UNESCO meeting. He, however, has issued a communique inviting that opinions on certain matters be sent by the public on reforms in general and certain items in particular. He also issued a Press statement before his departure to America, and after having come to know our latest resolution, that he was very sorry he could not meet the leaders of political parties and other representatives of the public as also important individuals to consult them about the contemplated reforms as he had no time, and that he would do so after returning from America. He has not said a word about the demand that the objective of reforms should be declared to be responsible government.

It is deplorable that H.H. the Maharaja has asked his Dewan to formulate the reforms proposals instead of himself making a definite declaration that the objective is responsible government and inviting the people's chosen representatives to formulate the details of the constitution. You would have, I am sure, noted that in our resolution we have taken exception to the procedure entrusting the Dewan with a highly responsible task.

Since there was no appreciation of and satisfactory response to our demand, we have been left with no alternative but to intensify our struggle and to launch satyagraha. We have not yet fixed the date for the starting of satyagraha. That has to be done at the next meeting of our Working Committee meeting on

6 March. Our All Mysore Congress Committee is also meeting on 8 and 9 March to ratify the Working Committee's decision.

We have also provisionally decided to contest the District Board elections in spite of the newly introduced cumulative voting system. A final decision will be taken at the next meeting.

The aspect which is engaging our serious attention is whether running elections and organising for satyagraha simultaneously is feasible and compatible. Elections will be over by the end of April.

I do not know to what extent the latest British declaration will make a change in the attitude of the princes to participate in the Constituent Assembly and in joining the Indian Union. Whatever attitude they may take, the unequivocal demand of the people of the States to join the Assembly and the Union will have to be made irresistible.

I have a desire to come to Delhi shortly for consultations and guidance over the vital issues before us. But pressure of work here may prevent my doing so. I have, however, requested Shri S. Nijalingappa to meet you.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. Changalaraya Reddi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Bangalore City
17 February 1947

Resolution passed by the Working Committee of the Mysore Congress at its meeting held on 16 and 17 February 1947, regarding the political situation in Mysore:

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress desires to review the development of political events in the State since some time past in the matter of the establishment of responsible government, and to decide upon its future course of action.

The country is aware of the resolution passed by the Mysore Congress at its open session at Subhas Nagar, Bangalore City, on 3 November 1946, demanding the immediate establishment of responsible government and authorising the Working Committee to take all necessary steps, including satyagraha, to secure the fulfilment of that legitimate demand.

The first step taken thereafter was the President's tour throughout the State to mobilise the people in general and strengthen the Congress in particular for struggle culminating in satyagraha at the proper time, if inevitable, to bring home to the authorities the urgency for the fulfilment of the demand. The Committee desires to congratulate the country for the magnificent way it responded to the call of the Congress in this behalf.

The Committee then felt it to be its duty to take the next necessary step of addressing a memorial to His Highness, stating the position of the Congress and to seek a reply from His Highness before considering what should be its future course of action.

The Committee thereafter considered the message of H.H. the Maharaja to the people . . . and resolved at its meeting on 24 January 1947 " . . . that only an authoritative announcement in clear and definite terms at a very early date—that the objective of the contemplated reforms is the establishment of democratic responsible government—will enable the Congress to co-operate in the 'great endeavour' referred to in the message of the Maharaja. The Committee further urges that as an earnest of the desire to transfer responsibility to the people, an interim government composed of the leaders of public opinion capable of securing the support of the legislature should be appointed forthwith. Meanwhile the Committee calls upon the country in general, and Congressmen in particular to continue mobilising their strength and to be prepared for any eventuality."

The Committee has waited till now to see what the reaction of the authorities would be to the stand taken as above. It regrets to note that in spite of the lapse of reasonable time no pronouncement has been made giving satisfactory assurances on the matters raised by the Committee. The Committee desires to point out that, on the other hand, the Dewan, who was charged by His Highness with the task of doing the needful in the matter of formulating reforms—a procedure, by the way, regarding which exception has already been taken as being undemocratic—has been marking time and is having recourse to dilatory and disruptive methods in spite of his protestations to the contrary.

The Committee, in the light of the above, and in view of the fact that only a system of full democratic responsible government can assure "equal opportunities for all" and convinced that during the inevitable period required to evolve and implement such a scheme, an interim responsible ministry is an immediate necessity for eliminating inefficiency and abuses from the administration and for affording security and satisfaction to the people, holds that it has no option but to stage satyagraha for the realisation of its objective.

The Committee, therefore, decides to launch satyagraha and resolves that the time of starting it, however, be determined at the next meeting of the committee to be held before the next AMCC sessions on 8 and 9 March 1947.

General Hospital
Mandya
5 March 1947

Respected Sir,

I have received your kind letter of 26 February 1947 on 3 March 1947 while I was an in-patient at the General Hospital, Mandya. I carefully studied your letter and noted the contents therein.

It is true that all the Princes in India were swearing loyalty to His Majesty the King and they felt proud in doing so. According to your version there will be no Sovereign in India from June 1948, and paramountcy will evaporate in the air. I take it for granted. If the Britishers quit India, H.H. the Maharaja of Mysore and his subjects will have a special right to demand [from] the British Crown to restore the territories, ceded in 1799, to Mysore. Regarding this matter you have not answered and you are silent. The Mysore State Congress is also silent in this matter. Why?

If the Britishers quit India, it is an admitted fact that the sovereignty of His Majesty the King will be reverted naturally to the British Indian people, who will have no rulers of their own in future, and the same will naturally be reverted to the Indian Princes, who still rule the States, and not to the people of Indian States. People of Indian States will get sovereignty if there is no king or if the king is driven out by the revolutionary method. The revolutionary method which is being preached to the people of the Indian States by the All India States Peoples' Conference is to demand 'responsible government wherein sovereignty vests with the people.'

I beg to remain,
Respected Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
M. Sankar Lingegowda

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
16 March 1947

Dear Friend,

I have received your letter of the 5th instant. I am afraid I cannot afford to waste time in carrying on such prolonged correspondence with you. Your letters are too long and prolific to go through. It would require leisure and even then I don't think any useful purpose would be served by my spending time over them.

You think that the Maharaja of Mysore and his subjects will have a special right to demand from the British Crown to restore the territories ceded in 1799 to Mysore and you want my answer to such a question. You also want an answer from the Mysore Congress to this question. The answer is so obvious that it is unnecessary to express it. I don't think you will find anybody in India to support such a claim. To the other matters referred to in your letter, I need not say anything because I find that it would be impossible to make you take a sober view of things.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Desabandhu M. Sankar Lingegowda
Mandya

Bangalore City
7 April 1947

Dear Sardarji,

Your letter of 16th ultimo sending a copy of the letter which has been addressed by you to Shri Sankar Lingegowda. I am glad you have closed your correspondence with him. He had issued a communication to the Press criticizing your views and we did what was necessary to rebut this criticism. We may leave it at that.

Herewith is enclosed copies of the resolutions passed at the Working Committee meeting held after my return from Delhi as also of the resolution passed at the sessions of the All Mysore Congress Committee held at the end of last month for your kind perusal.

You will please see that a date has been fixed for starting direct action. The date was fixed after considering all relevant circumstances and prolonged discussions of the pros and cons of such a step.

Subsequently, we met and took some tentative decisions as to what form direct action should take and a sub-committee has been constituted to work out the details.

We have also resolved to address a final letter to His Highness before the starting of direct action.

Sir Ramaswamy Mudaliar is expected here in a day or two. It remains to be seen what steps he will take after his return.

I shall keep you in touch with the developments.

With warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. Changalaraya Reddi

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Yasho Vilas
Vani Vilas Mohalla Post
Mysore
23 June 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Your kind letter of 9 June was awaiting me here. You will have heard with satisfaction the announcement of the Mysore Maharaja that Mysore would enter the Constituent Assembly.

The Dewan has no doubt tried to make a distinction between joining the Assembly and joining the Union later on. That evidently is intended to drive a good bargain with the Union Centre. I have no doubt that once it participates in the work of the Constituent Assembly, there would be no difficulty in Mysore becoming an integral part of the Union. The Dewan's attempt to keep the two questions distinct is perhaps also due to a desire to placate the more recalcitrant States. As you say, in spite of all the bluff and bluster of some Princes and their Advisers they will have to come in sooner or later.

The Mysore Dewan has fixed 5 July for the meeting of the Joint Legislature for the purpose of electing representatives to the Consembly. He has not yet given a clear indication as to how many of the seven representatives would be elected. He had long ago announced himself as the leader of the Mysore delegation, whatever that term may mean. The Mysore Congress has recently resolved that all the seven should be elected and any other arrangement would be "unsatisfactory and unacceptable." The agreement arrived at by the two Negotiating Committees has been accepted by the All-India States Peoples' Conference at its open session at Gwalior. The Dewan had been giving an impression that barring himself all the remaining six seats would be thrown [open] for election, but at the last Press conference held on the 17th, at which he announced the message of His Highness, he seems to have given an idea that [only] three out of six would be filled by election. The election will not take place on the 5th itself but on the next day or the day after. Perhaps on that day he would address the House and decide upon the procedure. He is thinking of the Mysore delegation working as a team and I believe he will attempt to buttress his own position by securing at least a majority of yesmen.

The position of the Mysore Congress in the Legislature, as it is, is not altogether satisfactory. For one thing, many of the old tried leaders who were under disqualification at the time of the last General Election are out of the Legislature. For another, the strength of the Mysore Congress in the Representative Assembly, which is the popular body, is about 120 out of 310, 12 of whom are nominated. In the Legislative Council in a House of 68, of whom 24 are nominated (16 of them being officials and eight being non-officials) the Mysore Congress is about twenty. It will therefore be seen that unless all the six are thrown [open] for election, the Mysore Congress may not be able to secure more than one or two. The question therefore arises whether it would be worthwhile to contest in the circumstances. The Dewan has not yet indicated his mind about the nominated element being not allowed to vote and about the question whether people outside the Legislature could contest the seats. We are awaiting clarification on these issues.

On my way to Mysore, I dropped [in] at Hyderabad and attended the State Congress session. I was very glad to note the tremendous enthusiasm of the people there and I feel very sanguine that the Hyderabad movement has been put on the

rails and it is only a question of time for them to reach their goal. There are a few differences among the leaders and it would be well if the leaders from outside keep visiting Hyderabad fairly frequently. They very much appreciated the presence of various leaders at the session this time.

With my best regards,

Yours sincerely,
H. C. Dasappa¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Yasho Vilas
Vani Vilas Mohalla Post
Mysore
16 July 1947

My dear Sardarji,

Mysore's delegation to the Consemby is there already. Sir Arcot [A. Ramaswamy Mudaliar] has managed to strengthen his block in it all right. He had held out that Mysore would go much further than the agreed formula of 50-50. On 17 June he announced the decision to join the Consemby and soon after that announced that a joint session of the Legislature would be summoned on 5 July for electing members to the Consemby, but gave no indication of the procedure as to the number to be elected, the persons who could contest, the method of voting, etc., until 2 July, three days before the joint session. That day he surprised us by saying that only four out of seven would be elected—two from each House on the basis of single transferable vote—and that only the sitting elected members of the Legislature could contest. It was designed evidently to [keep out] those Congressmen who on account of this disqualification could not contest the general elections last time. If it were a joint session at which the members could be elected there was just a chance of Congress getting three seats out of four. In order to have their own favourites, the Government split up the electoral college into two. I must say that our Congress also did not move sufficiently vigorously in time to bring pressure on the Government.

¹ Leading Praja Mandal figure in Mysore; after independence joined Central Cabinet as Railway Minister

The President, Shri K. C. Reddi, wrote to the Dewan only on 2 July—the day on which the Dewan made the belated announcement of the procedure. Since it was [based on] preferential vote and we had more than the required quota for one seat each in the two Houses, we could easily get Shri K. C. Reddi from the Council and Shri S. V. K. Murty from the Assembly. The Government backed up Shri Guruva Reddy (father-in-law of Shri K. C. Reddi) from the Council, as he is fighting the Congress and supporting Government, and Shri D. H. Chandra-shekariah from the Assembly and get them returned. The Dewan nominated a Muslim and a Harijan and so they are five as against our two. The Congress put up a Harijan as a second candidate in the Council and as expected he lost. Two European members, who had declared that they would not participate, took part and evidently voted for Guruva Reddy. It is something that you have our two friends, Shri K. C. Reddi and Shri S. V. K. Murty, to keep in touch with you.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,
H. C. Dasappa

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New Delhi
27 November 1947

My dear Sardar,

I enclose a copy of a letter from Dewan Bahadur K. Matthan, a leader of the Indian Christian community in Mysore, regarding the representation of Christians in the Mysore Constituent Assembly. I should be grateful if you would kindly give the matter some thought and, if you could do so without impropriety, suggest to the Chief Minister, Mr. K. C. Reddi, that provision should be made for a reasonable number of Christian representatives on the same basis as in our Constituent Assembly.

Yours sincerely,
John Matthai

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACT FROM COPY OF A LETTER DATED 23 NOVEMBER 1947
FROM DEWAN BAHADUR K. MATTHAN, BANGALORE

You may have heard of recent political developments in Mysore State. The Maharaja has agreed to the demands of the State Congress regarding the principle of responsible government, and the framing of a constitution, embodying this principle, by a Constituent Assembly to be set up by the Interim Ministry consisting of members of the State Congress and others nominated by the Congress. At an informal meeting of a few Indian Christians held in Bangalore some days ago, when some important members of the All-India Conference of Indian Christians (from Bombay and Madras) were also present, the question of ensuring that a few representatives of the Christian community find a place in the Constituent Assembly was discussed, and it was thought that a suggestion in this behalf from the Congress High Command to the local Congress would be useful. It was also suggested that if you could put in a word to Sardar Patel about this he might give a hint to the State Congress that the Constituent Assembly should include a few representatives of the Christian community. The meeting wanted me to write to you about this.

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New Delhi
30 November 1947

My dear Matthai,

Thank you for your letter dated 27 November 1947 regarding the representation of Christians in the Mysore State Constituent Assembly. I am writing to Reddi and I am sure he will do the needful.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai
Minister for Transport & Railways
New Delhi

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New Delhi
30 November 1947

My dear K. C. Reddi,

I have received a representation that Christians should be given their due share of representation in the Constituent Assembly, Mysore State. Dr. John Matthai has supported this representation and has suggested that a reasonable number of Christian representatives may be sent to your Constituent Assembly on the same basis as in our Constituent Assembly. I feel that the request is reasonable. It is in our own interests that we should give ample proof of consideration and regard for the minorities. We should see that the minorities feel a sense of security and confidence in the majority. From all these points of view, I hope you will examine the position and see that the Indian Christian community in your State is adequately represented in your Constituent Assembly.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri K. Changalaraya Reddi
Chief Minister
Mysore State
Mysore

Bangalore
8 December 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 30th ultimo regarding representation for Christians in the Mysore Constituent Assembly. We are keenly aware that they should have their due representation in the Assembly. But it was thought that any reservation for them would not be in consonance with the policy that is now being adopted by the Union Government. At the time of putting up candidates for election from the territorial constituencies it

will be seen to it that Christian candidates are put up and their success ensured. Shri Dasappa, who is coming over to Delhi next week in connection with the Industries Conference, will discuss this matter with you further.

Regarding your telegram of the 6th instant intimating your programme, necessary instructions have been given to Capt. Sundaram.

I am sorry to inform you that I have not been keeping good health since the last fortnight and that doctors have insisted on complete rest in bed for about three weeks. My other colleagues will be looking after my work in the meanwhile.

With respectful regards,

Yours sincerely,
K. Changalaraya Reddi

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

CHAPTER XIV
MERGERS AND DEMOCRATIZATION

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TELEGRAM

Agartala
18 May 1947

Hon'ble Mr. Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

EXTREMELY GRIEVED TO INFORM THAT HIS HIGHNESS TRIPURA EXPIRED
LAST NIGHT.

CHIEF MINISTER TRIPURA

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Agartala
Camp: Marina Hotel
New Delhi
22 June 1947

Dear Sardarji,

I am leaving Delhi tomorrow in the morning. During my stay here, I have received all the sympathies and considerations for all that is needed by our State from you and your colleagues. I am sure, as at present and for the future Tripura State will not be denied all the help in its multifarious problems which are bound to crop up as circumstanced we are.

I have, as advised, arranged for approaching Chittagong Hill Tracts chiefs. But the main problem remains as to our outlet from the State. I do entirely depend on you for all such immediate problems which will be put before you through our representative in the Constituent Assembly timely.

Allow me to thank you for all the courtesies and sympathies shown to me and thereby to the State at a time when the State

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is passing through a great transition, specially owing to the sudden and [untimely] demise of its Ruler—leaving a minor . . . at the helm of affairs.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
B. K. Deb Burman

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

Agartala
14 July 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

A COMPACT AREA COMPRISING TRIPURA STATE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS LUSHAI AND KHASI HILLS TOGETHER WITH HINDU MAJORITY AREAS IN NOAKHALI TIPPERA AND SYLHET DISTRICTS CONTIGUOUS TO TRIPURA STATE UNDER THE INDIAN UNION ABSOLUTELY NEEDED TO BE FORMED ON POLITICAL STRATEGICAL AND ECONOMIC GROUNDS TO SAVE FROM ISOLATION TRIPURA STATE WHICH HAS ALREADY JOINED INDIAN UNION. WE ARE REPRESENTING TO BENGAL BOUNDARY COMMISSION. EARNESTLY SOLICITING YOUR HELP.

MAHARAJKUMAR BRAJENDRAKISOR
CHIEF MINISTER, TRIPURA

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New Delhi
21 August 1947

My dear Hydari,

I am writing this regarding the position of Tripura State. According to the Boundary Commission's Award, the Chittagong Hill Tribes have been handed over to East Bengal. This places Tripura State in a position of great difficulty and embarrassment. To the north it will have Sylhet, to the west and south East Bengal. There is a small portion of frontier coterminous with Assam

and I understand that communications with Tripura State would be possible through this area. Nevertheless, it is probable that there would be a feeling of uneasiness in the State which a few months back lost its Ruler and is now under a Regency presided over by a Maharani who hails from Panna State. She saw me last month and seemed very nervous, which is quite understandable.

In these circumstances, we feel that the interests of Tripura State should be watched with vigilance by us and the State and its Maharani should be assured of all protection.

I feel that the best way to do so would be through you and would like to know, before we finalise any arrangements, whether you have any ideas on this subject.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Akbar Hydari
Governor of Assam
Shillong.

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Calcutta
29 October 1947

My dear Sardarji,

The bearer of this letter is Shri Umesh Lal Singh, Secretary, Tripura State Congress Committee. He along with two other Congress workers of Tripura State are going to you on urgent business regarding that State. The situation there is serious and may any time become critical. An Ex-military Men's Association has been formed just on the border of the State—and there has already begun a slow but steady infiltration of Muslims from East Bengal.

The ruler died some time ago and a minor is now on the guddy [throne]. The Rani—widow of the dead Maharaja—is helpless in the hands of the Dewan. There is reason to suspect the bona fides and honesty of the Dewan.

You may remember that due to the Chittagong Hill Tract and the major portion of Sylhet being allotted to Pakistan, there is now no regular communication between any territory of the Indian Union and the State. Some roads at least for motor service between Tripura and Assam should be made out without any delay.

The Dewan is suspected of encouraging the demands of the Muslims—who form majority in the plains though they are a minority in the whole State. If possible, the present Dewan should be removed and an experienced ex-military officer should be appointed as Dewan—as in the near future the question of defence is likely to be the most important thing.

I hope you will please make time to hear them.

I learn the Rani, the present Regent, and the Dewan are also going there. The Rani should be given courage and hope of your active help and direction.

With best compliments.

Yours sincerely,
S. M. Ghose
President, BPGC

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
5 November 1947

Dear Friend,

Thank you for your letter dated 29 October 1947. The question of Tripura State is actively under our consideration and we are taking all possible action.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Shri S. M. Ghose
President
Bengal Provincial Congress Committee
Calcutta 13

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Intelligence Bureau (M.H.A.)
Government of India
New Delhi
3 November 1947

My dear Shankar,

I enclose for H.M.'s information a copy of a secret telegram from the Central Intelligence Officer, Calcutta.

This information is confirmed by an independent source which says that the Muslim League National Guards in East Bengal are carrying on open propaganda that Tripura State belongs to Eastern Pakistan and that preparations are being made to invade Tripura. Several pamphlets inciting Muslims to conquer Tripura and annex it to East Bengal are in circulation in Eastern Pakistan.

The same source says that the Arakan Muslims are being incited to revolt against the present Burmese Government, and arms and ammunition are being supplied to them from various dumps. The Muslim League leaders in East Bengal appear to have contacted them and enlisted their support to smuggle arms and ammunition into East Bengal. The Arakan Muslims are believed to have promised to create trouble on the borders of India when the time comes.

Yours sincerely,
T. G. Sanjevi

V. Shankar, Esq. ICS
Private Secretary to the Hon'ble
Minister for Home Affairs
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

SECRET INFORMATION INDICATES POSSIBILITY OF PAKISTAN ATTACK ON TRIPURA STATE ON SAME LINES AS IN KASHMIR. INFILTRATION OF MUSLIM LEAGUE SUPPORTERS AND DISSEMINATION OF PROPAGANDA LITERATURE HAVE BEGUN WITHIN TRIPURA. BURMESE COMMUNISTS AND MANIPURI COMMUNISTS ON THE OTHER HAND OPPOSING POPULAR MOVEMENT IN MANIPUR IN PURSUANCE OF POLICY FOR INCLUSION OF MANIPUR IN BURMA.

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
4 November 1947

From Foreign New Delhi
To Foreign Karachi
Repeated to Prime Minister, Pakistan, Lahore

FROM PRIME MINISTER INDIA FOR PRIME MINISTER PAKISTAN. I HAVE RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM MORE THAN ONE SOURCE THAT MUSLIM LEAGUE NATIONAL GUARDS IN EAST BENGAL ARE CARRYING ON PROPAGANDA THAT TRIPURA STATE BELONGS TO EASTERN PAKISTAN. PAMPHLETS INCITING MUSLIMS TO CONQUER TRIPURA AND ANNEX IT TO EAST BENGAL ARE IN CIRCULATION IN EASTERN PAKISTAN AND PREPARATIONS ARE BEING MADE TO INVADE TRIPURA.

TRIPURA ACCEDED TO THE INDIAN DOMINION BEFORE 15 AUGUST. ANY ACTIVITIES IN PAKISTAN TERRITORY INTENDED TO SUPPORT THE FORCIBLE ANNEXATION OF TRIPURA INTO EASTERN PAKISTAN ARE CLEARLY AN HOSTILE ACT AGAINST THE DOMINION OF INDIA. I REQUEST THAT YOU WILL DISCOURAGE SUCH ACTIVITIES AND SEE THAT NO ACT OF AGGRESSION IS COMMITTED ON TRIPURA.

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New Delhi
4 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

You are no doubt aware of the reports that there is trouble brewing on the borders of Tripura (Agartala) State. It is said that the Muslim National Guards from East Bengal, Tripura district, have started an agitation against accession of Tripura to the Indian Union and they may well have raids. Tripura State is very feeble and the Raj family itself is divided. If any trouble occurs there, we have no means of reaching it except by Assam.

Yesterday I sent a telegram to the Pakistan Government warning them about this matter. I have also informed the Assam Government.

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I hope that you will deal directly with the Tripura State authorities. Evidently the present Dewan is not much good and a better and stronger man is needed. Dr. P. C. Ghosh has also written to me on this subject and drawn urgent attention to it.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
5 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 4 November 1947. The Dewan of Tripura has already sent us a detailed letter which shows that he is quite alive to the dangers involved and of the requirements of the situation. We have already taken action on this letter and have ourselves communicated with the Government of Assam on several occasions. As a result of such consultations a programme of improvement of communications has already been decided and steps have been taken to ensure that Tripura has independent communications of posts and telegraph and wireless with us. We have written to the Government of Assam to post a force of the Assam Rifles in the State. There are some other important matters which have to be considered and for this reason I am asking both the Maharani and the Dewan of Tripura immediately to come to Delhi for consultations. [Sir Akbar] Hydari is being appointed our Agent to deal with Tripura State.

I would have liked to be consulted before you sent the telegram to the Pakistan Government. With the experience of our correspondence with the Pakistan Government on various matters it required, I suggest, a great deal of consideration before we brought them officially in the picture in relation to the Tripura boundary. However, since you have already sent a telegram, there is no point in my further commenting on it.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

New Delhi
6 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I am rather distressed to hear that tactics similar to those employed in the case of Kashmir are being resorted to by Pakistan for creating trouble in Tripura State. I was for some time associated with Tripura State as Legal and Constitutional Adviser, and am therefore personally interested in its welfare. Its geographical position is such that infiltration methods may successfully be adopted by Eastern Pakistan. I understand a representation on this subject has already come to your Ministry.

The immediate action that should be taken in this matter is perhaps to send a responsible military officer to Agartala, the capital of the State, to make enquiries on the spot as regards necessary precautionary measures.

Yours sincerely,
K. C. Neogy

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
7 November 1947

My dear Neogy,

Thank you for your letter dated 6 November 1947 regarding Tripura.

We have already had a detailed letter from the Dewan on the subject and are attending to it. We have already done something substantial in regard to communications and we have asked

the Eastern Command to get in touch with the Dewan immediately in order to send military assistance.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Mr. K. C. Neogy
Minister for Refugees & Rehabilitation
Government of India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
7 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I have been receiving rather alarming reports about Tripura State which, as you know, adjoins East Bengal. Mr. Guha, who is one of the Ministers in Tripura, has addressed a letter to Mr. [V.P.] Menon explaining the whole position. The matter perhaps will be placed before you as soon as Mr. Menon has considered this letter.

The Muslim League is helping in the formation of a committee of action which will take steps on Kashmir lines to compel the State to join Pakistan. Fortunately, the majority of the people in Tripura are Hindus. If we can help the State on the lines indicated by Mr. Guha in his letter to Mr. Menon, we may be able to mobilise Hindu opinion within the State to resist aggression. I have no doubt the matter will receive your due attention, and in consultation with the Defence Ministry you will direct immediate action to be taken.

Yours sincerely,
Syama Prasad Mookerjee

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
7 November 1947

My dear Dr. Syama Prasad,

Thank you for your letter of 7 November 1947 regarding Tripura State. We have received a detailed letter from the Dewan and are fully alive to the requirements of the situation. Indeed we have already taken some action to deal with them. Communications have been put on a proper basis independent of Pakistan. The question of roads is, of course, a difficult one and will take some time. We have also asked the Eastern Command to get in touch with the Dewan and arrange for military assistance. I have also sent a telegram to the Dewan asking him and the Maharani to come here immediately for consultations.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee
Ministry for Industry and Supply
New Delhi

Government House
New Delhi
13 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I had a phone call from the Bengal Governor last evening. He desired that when you see the Tripura Maharani and the officials, you should also see the Vice-President of the Regency Council along with them. He says that those whom you have called may not put the whole position before you, and that it would be better that you see the Vice-President also. In your absence, I told him that he may ask the Vice-President to join the delegation that goes to see you here. I hope this is all right.

The Vice-President is, I understand, the Maharaja's [uncle].

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
14 November 1947

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter dated 13 November 1947 regarding the Tripura delegation. I have no objection whatsoever to seeing the Vice-President. I have already seen him once before. He is the late Maharaja's brother and the present Maharaja's uncle.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
Governor-General of India
New Delhi

18 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I think you had better see this letter from the Governor of West Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
C. Rajagopalachari

ENCLOSURE

LETTER FROM SIR B. L. MITTER, GOVERNOR OF WEST BENGAL,
CALCUTTA, DATED 13 NOVEMBER 1947, TO SHRI C.
RAJAGOPALACHARI, GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF
INDIA, NEW DELHI

Mr. S. V. Mukerji, Chief Minister, Tripura, saw me this morning. I have known him for a long time and he spoke freely to me. The situation in Tripura, he said, was not nearly so bad as was reported in the Press; the news that the Assam Rifles had been ordered to proceed, in case of necessity, had a steadying effect. Mr. Mukerji did not anticipate any trouble.

On the general administration of Tripura, Mr. Mukerji said that it was rotten to the core. Favourites enjoyed "monopolies" on such essential articles

as salt and kerosene; there was no money to meet salary bills, the treasury being empty; bribery and corruption were rife from top to bottom; net result—total inefficiency.

On the political situation, Mr. Mukerji said that a movement had been set [afoot] to get rid of the present Ministry. Some members of the ruling family were in the movement, and the previous Chief Minister, Maharaj Kumar Brojendra Kishore Deb Burman, was in the thick of it. A section of Mahomedans was intriguing in favour of Pakistan, but the community as a whole, numbering 23 per cent, was divided. Tripura is geographically so situated that, in Mukerji's opinion, unremitting vigilance is necessary for a considerable time.

Mukerji and Brojendra Kishore Deb Burman are in opposite camps and it is just as well that both should be in Delhi to tell their respective tales.

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New Delhi

19 November 1947

My dear Rajaji,

Thank you for your letter of 18 November 1947. I have had a talk with both Mukerji and Burman. I have also had a talk with Her Highness the Maharani of Tripura. I shall be seeing Sir Akbar Hydari tomorrow after which it will be possible to say what the actual situation is and what requires to be done. I am returning the letter addressed by B. L. Mitter to you.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

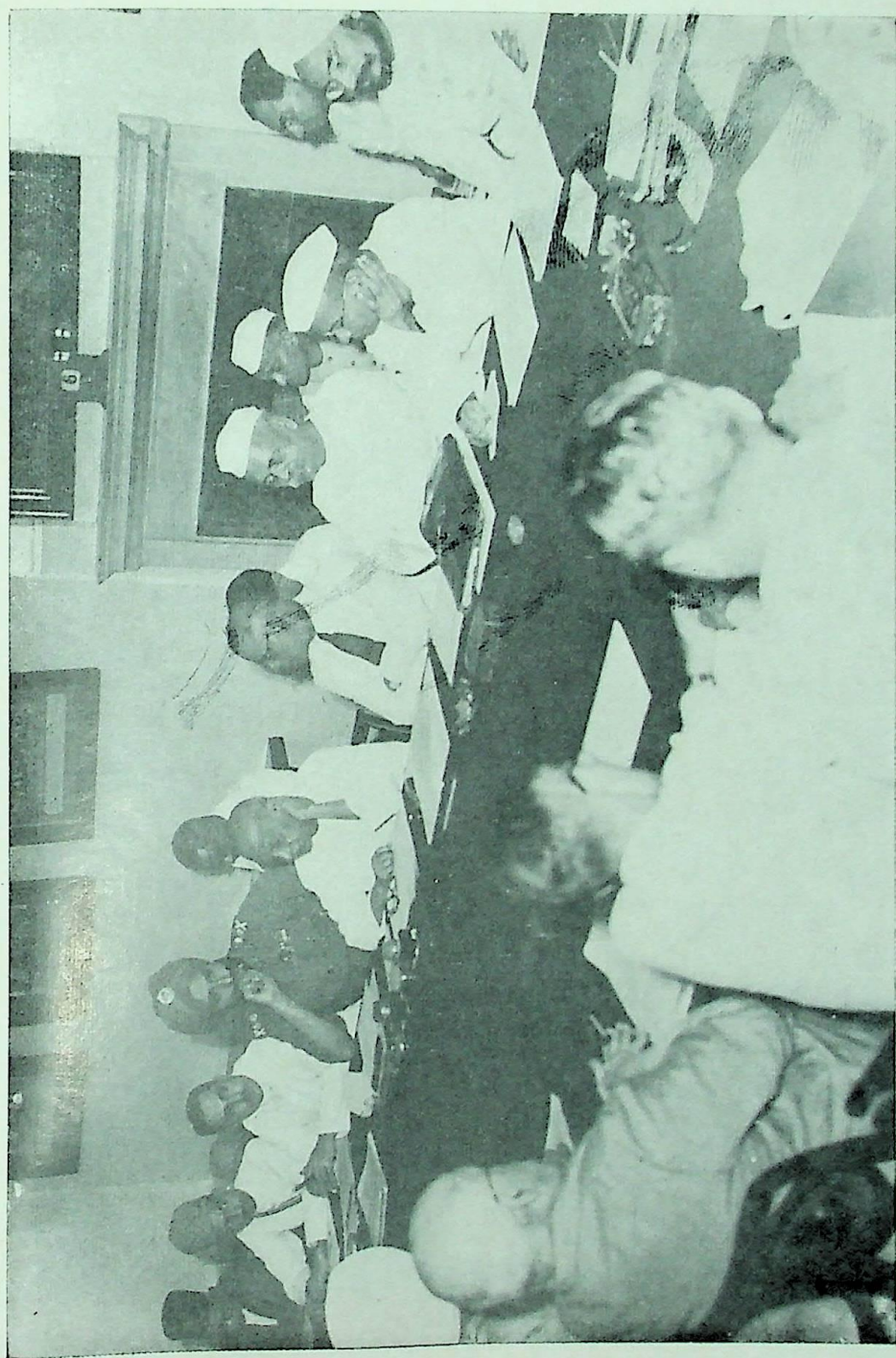
His Excellency Shri C. Rajagopalachari
New Delhi

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Tripura House
Ballygunge Circular Road
Calcutta
2 December 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I am sincerely grateful to you for the very kind and courteous manner in which you received me at Delhi in connection with Tripura affairs.



SARDAR PATEL ADDRESSING A CONFERENCE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF STATES AND PROVINCES CALLED TO DISCUSS THE REFUGEE PROBLEM. FROM LEFT TO RIGHT : MAHARAJAS OF ALWAR, BHARATPUR & PATIALA, SARDAR PATEL, V. P.

MENON, PREMIER G. B. PANT OF UP, PREMIER BHARGAVA & MINISTER SWARAN SINGH OF EAST PUNJAB



WITH GOVERNOR KATJU AND TWO RULERS OF EASTERN STATES IN CUTTACK, DECEMBER 1947

Both I and Maharani were happy to learn from Press reports that Mr. S. N. Ray, ICS, was going to be recommended as Chief Minister for the State. However, I learnt from Mr. Ray yesterday that plans have been altered and someone else would be recommended as Chief Minister for Tripura. May I request you to kindly anyhow send Mr. S. N. Ray, if not permanently, at least for the first few months?

Mr. Ray was for a number of years in Comilla, which adjoins the State. Moreover, in those days he had agency powers from the Government of India in relation to Tripura. He therefore knows our conditions very well and can bring about necessary reformation in the shortest possible time.

It is true that Mr. Ray's remuneration would be greater than what we have been paying our Chief Ministers but the additional cost for six or twelve months is worth spending because of his superior knowledge, experience and administrative capacity.

The Maharani left a few days back with Sir Akbar Hydari for Agartala and if she had been here she too would have authorised me to make this request on her behalf. I have been trying to speak to her on the phone from here but unfortunately as the telephone wires pass through the Pakistan area, it is never possible for us to speak on the phone with Agartala.

Tripura is India's eastern land-post. Both for the sake of the State and for the Indian Union, we must have a very able administrator, particularly at this juncture. I hope you will agree with me in this view and arrange for Mr. S. N. Ray's appointment as Chief Minister of our State.

Yours sincerely,
Maharaj Kumar B. K. Deb Burman
Vice-President
Council of Regency

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
9 December 1947

Dear Mr. Deb Burman,

Thank you for your letter of 2 December 1947. I was myself hoping that Mr. Ray would agree to go, but it was not possible for us to meet his demands as regards remuneration. Obviously we cannot agree to impose any more additional burden on the State than we considered reasonable.

2. We are, however, on the lookout for another good officer and I am sure we will be able to send someone who will do equally well.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Maharaj Kumar B. K. Deb Burman
Calcutta

Calcutta
19 December 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

I am enclosing herewith a statement to the Press by Her Highness the Maharani, President of the Council of Regency, Tripura State, which I handed to the Press yesterday, under her authority. I am enclosing herewith a gist of the discussion that took place at the Press conference, for which the Maharani had authorised me. As soon as Her Highness returns from Jaipur, after the operation of the Maharaja, in about ten days' time, we propose to hold a meeting of the Council of Regency to finalize the declaration to be made on behalf of the Ruler. Before announcing the declaration it is possible that either I or Her Highness or both of us might come and see you in Delhi to get your approval.

Yours sincerely,
Maharaj Kumar B. K. Deb Burman

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

THE MAHARANI OF TRIPURA'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS

Tripura is the oldest Hindu State in India comprising over 4,000 sq. miles of land and having a population of over 6 lakhs. The majority of the population consists of Hindus.

Rulers of Tripura have always at heart the interests and welfare of its people. The late Maharaja Manikya Bahadur, my husband, was eagerly awaiting the independence of India to introduce popular reforms but the cruel hand of death took him away just when he was about to fulfil his long cherished plans of democratising the State's constitution and associating the people with its Government. He was, however, able to communicate to the Government of India, before his death, his desire to join the Indian Union. He is one of the very few princes who took such a patriotic and wise decision as soon as the Indian constitutional reforms were announced. In pursuance of this decision, the State's representative has been participating in the Indian Constituent Assembly from its very commencement.

Tripura has large natural resources, mineral oil, forest, agriculture, water power etc. and occupies strategic importance for the Indian Union. The enemies of the State and of the Indian Union naturally did not like our joining the Indian Union. Some even tried to create mischief and foment trouble with a view to exert pressure for revising the State's accession to the Indian Union. We naturally appealed to the Government of India for help. I and the people of Tripura are very grateful to the Indian Cabinet for their immediate response and sending men and material to put an end to the inimical external inroads and influences. Tripura is now safely and strongly protected. The policy of readiness to help component units of the Indian Union against external aggression and mischief has amply justified the wise decision taken during the lifetime of the late ruler.

Now that I and my Council of Regency are free from the anxieties of external undue pressure, we can devote our attention to the implementing of the other part of the late Maharaja Manikya Bahadur's programme of political reform inside the State. I hope to return to Tripura after about ten days when my son's operation is over. I shall then call a meeting of the Council of Regency to prepare a declaration for the introduction of popular reforms. But I may add here, what the people of our State, I think, know already, that in accordance with the wishes of the late Maharaja Manikya Bahadur, Tripura will have a fully democratic constitution and the popular representatives will be associated with the Government. The interests of the

people of Tripura and their economic welfare are our great concern. The ruling family of Tripura considers, as it has always considered, that their welfare is indissolubly linked with the welfare of the people; and the people's happiness is their happiness.

Kanchan Prabha Devi

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The Palace
Cooch Behar
12 August 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

On this great and historic day of Indian Independence, which you have contributed in no small measure to bring about, I send to you, on my behalf and on behalf of the people of Cooch Behar, most cordial greetings.

The apprehensions of most Indian States were, as you know, the natural outcome of the feeling that by sheer weight of population the provinces may submerge and swamp them. The policy of fair play and sympathetic understanding which you have initiated towards the States is, if I may say so, a very happy augury for the future of our country. The ready response that policy has evoked from a very large body of Rulers is proof of its signal success.

The country sorely needs peace and we all wish it to prosper and you can count upon my wholehearted co-operation and my very best wishes in the prosecution of any policy that you may think it necessary to adopt for the restoration of peace and for the eradication of poverty.

Jai Hind.

Yours sincerely,
Jagaddipendra Narayan
Maharaja of Cooch Behar

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
17 August 1947

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Many thanks for your very kind letter of greetings and good wishes on Independence Day. I am more than satisfied with the good response which my appeal to the Rulers of States to join the Dominion has met. I myself had no doubt that, approached in the right way, the Princes would nobly respond to the country's cause.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Your Highness for so readily agreeing to accede to the Indian Dominion. Along with Assam and West Bengal, your State occupies a difficult position, but I have no doubt that in concert and unity we shall be able to meet all eventualities.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lieutenant His Highness
Maharaja Jagaddipendra Narayan
Maharaja of Cooch Behar
Cooch Behar

New Delhi
20 August 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

Sir Akbar Hydari, Governor of Assam, came to an agreement with the Khasi States on 16 July. A copy of this agreement was sent to you and your approval was asked for. He writes to me that he has not yet received your formal concurrence. As time was of the essence of the agreement and any further delay in giving effect to it would have led to confusion, Hydari has brought the agreement into force from 15 August. Bardoloi [Assam Prime Minister] had given his approval to this agreement. I hope that the States Department will send their formal concurrence to it soon. The agreement, I might add, gives more control over the

States' affairs to the Union and to Assam than has been given in the Instruments of Accession which most Indian States have signed.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for States
Government of India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
17 July 1947

My dear Hydari,

I have just now seen a copy of your letter to Jawaharlal and of the agreement concluded with Manipur. I congratulate you on your brilliant success in securing this agreement. It is much more than we had hoped to secure.

With kindest regards to Lady Hydari and yourself,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Sir Akbar Hydari
Governor of Assam
Shillong

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Government House
Shillong
22 July 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I am very glad you approve the agreement with Manipur and am most grateful for your generous acknowledgment.

My wife joins me in sending you and Miss Patel our best wishes and we hope that you will both pay us a visit this autumn or winter.

Yours sincerely,
A. Hydari

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Member of Council
States Department
New Delhi

Bilaspur State
31 July 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I am writing this letter in connection with the lapse of paramountcy and the accession of Bilaspur State to the Indian Dominion.

As you very well know, States' relations with the Crown are terminating on 15 August and the vacuum has to be filled before that date. In this connection the Viceroy has suggested the following:

- (i) Accession of States to one of the two Dominion Governments.
- (ii) Standstill agreement with the Dominion concerned.
and
- (iii) Channel of correspondence with the Dominion Government.

So far as (i) is concerned, the Bilaspur Darbar have already made up their mind to join the Dominion of India and are ready to sign such Instrument of Accession as is suitable for the purpose.

Re: (ii) We are also quite prepared to sign a standstill agreement with the Indian Dominion on all matters of common concern.

As regards (iii) above, this is the most important item so far as we are concerned. When I first heard from the Viceroy about the establishment of a States Department with yourself as its head I warmly welcomed it because I knew that whatever problems of the States existed could only be solved by wise and sympathetic handling and the creation of a separate department was the only way to meet this necessity. I now hope that the new department will help us in our difficulties so far as direct touch with all departments of the Dominion Government [is] concerned because we have for the last 15 years been severely handicapped by having to deal through channels which, to say the least, have been far from helpful. Even now the Political Agent has, without any authority from us, tried to attach us for our economic needs to an office with which we have no concern whatever and merely on the plea that we are too small a unit. He

wishes to relegate our future to hands in which we have no faith or trust.

In this connection I am sending Mr. Premlal Chopra, my Foreign Secretary, with this letter who will show you all the relevant files and explain other matters verbally. It is my request that you will please spare a few minutes to see him and to give such instructions to him as are needed.

I have been ill for nearly a week and the weakness caused by high fever is still persisting.

However, I hope to be in Delhi by Monday next and if you will very kindly ask your Secretary in the States Department to have the necessary papers ready, the accession and standstill agreements could be signed without further delay.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Anand Chand
[Raja of Bilaspur]

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1 August 1947

Dear Raja Sahib,

Thanks for your letter of 31 July 1947 which was handed to me by your Foreign Secretary. I am very glad to know that you have decided to accede to the [Indian] Dominion and are prepared to sign the standstill agreement. I shall ask my Secretary to keep these two documents ready for your signature as soon as we get printed copies.

As regards the third question you have referred to, unfortunately up to 15 August the Political Department have full say in these matters; but we shall take this over after 15 August and I shall try to help you to secure better results.

I am sorry to hear that you have been ill for some time. I hope by the time this letter reaches you you will have been restored to normal health.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Raja Anand Chand
Raja of Bilaspur (Kahlur)
Punjab Hills States

17 September 1947

My dear Menon,

Please see the telegram placed below. H. M. approves of the action taken by the High Commissioner and would like this approval to be conveyed to him at once. Intimation of the receipt of this telegram and its contents may be sent to His Highness the Raja of Mandi with the request that he would kindly arrange for the remittance of necessary funds as soon as possible.

Yours sincerely,

V. Shankar

Private Secretary to H.M.

V. P. Menon, Esq., CSI, CIE
Secretary, Ministry of States
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

TELEGRAM

Mussooree

8 August 1947

Hon'ble Member
States Department
New Delhi

REFERENCE YOUR LETTER 4 AUGUST JUST RECEIVED. HAVE ASKED HIS HIGHNESS MANDI TO PERSONALLY EXPLAIN POSITION YOU AND GET DEFINITE CLARIFICATION ON ALL POINTS.

RAJENDRA PRAKASH SIRMUR

Bhaktivilas
Trivandrum
24 January 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I am enclosing, for your perusal, a Press statement detailing the objectives and the main proposals in regard to Travancore's new constitution.

With kind regards,

I am,
Yours sincerely,
C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACTS FROM PRESS COMMUNIQUE OUTLINING PROPOSALS FOR THE NEW CONSTITUTION OF TRAVANCORE

... Government, in pursuance of their undertaking, will also consult representatives of public opinion, and all the views expressed as aforesaid will be taken into consideration before the new constitution is promulgated in the form of a Statute by proclamation.

Government have under consideration the question of reservation of seats in joint electorates for those minority communities that are legitimately entitled to representation in the Legislature and that can be proved otherwise to be unable to secure any such representation.

A franchise committee will be set up for the preparation and revision of the voters' list on the basis of adult suffrage.

This committee will also make proposals in respect of special constituencies for the second chamber.

PART I. LEGISLATURE

There shall be two Houses of the Legislature, namely, the Sri Chitra State Council and the Sri Mulam Assembly.

Every person who has attained the age of 25 years and who is not under any disability or incapacity either under law or under the Statute shall be eligible to become a member of the Sri Mulam Assembly.

It shall be the duty of the Dewan to appoint a date not more than 6 months after the date of the dissolution of either Chamber for the meeting of its next session.

Either House may be prorogued by the Dewan on a written message to that effect being sent to that House.

The Dewan shall have the right of addressing either or both the Chambers of the Legislature and of sending messages with respect to any Bill pending or any other matter under the consideration of the Legislature.

A Bill may originate in either Chamber. For consideration of Bills, there shall be constituted a Standing Committee consisting of 11 members in the case of the Assembly and 5 in the case of the Council.

Government Bills to be introduced in the Legislature shall, in the first instance, be referred to the Executive Committee having jurisdiction over the department which is dealing with the subject matter.

The Legislature shall not be competent to enact any measure or to discuss any matter relating to or affecting

the ruling family of Travancore or any member thereof or the management of their Household,

the Travancore State Forces including His Highness' Body Guard, or the Devaswoms or the Hindu Religious Endowments, or

the relations of Government with the British Government, the Government of India, or with foreign Princes or States, or

matters governed by treaties, conventions or agreements made by the Government with the British Government, the Government of India or with foreign Princes or States, or

the provisions of the Reforms Act and the Rules passed under it.

The previous sanction of the Dewan is necessary for the introduction of any measure

(a) which affects the public revenues of the State or which imposes a charge on such revenues, or

(b) which affects the religion or religious rites and usages of any class of the State subjects.

The Dewan shall have the power to certify any Bill which has been introduced or which is proposed to be introduced in either Chamber of the Legislature.

No Bill shall become law unless His Highness the Maharaja has declared his assent thereto.

The following heads of expenditure shall not be submitted to the vote of the Legislature, nor shall they be discussed by the Legislature:

- (i) expenditure relating to items removed from the cognisance of the Legislature;
- (ii) expenditure which is obligatory under a Statute;
- (iii) pensions and gratuities;
- (iv) salaries and allowances of officers appointed under Sign Manual or whose appointments are specified in Rules passed under the Act;
- (v) interest on loans and sinking fund charges;
- (vi) contributions made by the State; and
- (vii) Maramat and Political Expenditure.

PART II. EXECUTIVE

The two Houses of the Legislature that will come into being under the new Statute will have jurisdiction over the entire field of government subject to certain specified exceptions.

The control of the Legislature over the policy of Government departments will be exercised through executive committees elected by the Legislature.

PART III. DEWAN

The executive administration and machinery of the State shall be under the general and disciplinary control of the Dewan who shall be appointed by His Highness the Maharaja and shall hold office during His Highness' pleasure.

PART IV. JUDICIARY

Neither House of the Legislature shall be competent to discuss or pass any resolution on any matter pending before any court in the land.

It shall be competent to the High Court to pronounce on the constitutionality of the laws or decisions made or passed by the Legislature;

provided however that no court shall have power to revise the rulings on points of order of the Chairman of either House or the orders of the Dewan passed in the exercise of the special powers vested in him under the Statute.

PART V. RESIDUARY POWERS OF THE SOVEREIGN

Nothing herein contained shall affect or derogate from the powers of His Highness the Maharaja to enact laws or to take action under His Highness' inherent sovereign powers.

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
24 June 1947

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya
Masulipatam

YOUR STATEMENT TO API REGARDING TRAVANCORE. WOULD ADVISE YOU PROCEED TRAVANCORE AND GET MATTER CLEARED BY PERSONAL DISCUSSION WITH SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI. MISUNDERSTANDING IS CREATING BITTERNESS AND ILL-FEELING AND HOSTILE PUBLIC OPINION. IF YOUR INTERPRETATION CORRECT IT WILL ALLAY PUBLIC FEELING.

VALLABHBHAI

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Masulipatam
26 June 1947

Dear Sardarji,

Many thanks for your wire, which I received last night. I had also received a wire from the Dewan of Travancore, Sir. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, on the 24th instant. But I had not replied to it pending his confirmatory letter.

I hereby confirm my wire given to you last night.

THANKS SIR C. P. WIRED ME YESTERDAY QUOTE MANY THANKS FOR YOUR CLOSELY REASONED AND CONSTRUCTIVE STATEMENT IN NEW TIMES WHICH IN THE MAIN SETS OUT WHAT I HAVE ALWAYS REPEATED. TRAVANCORE IS QUITE WILLING TO COME INTO LINE ON BASIS OF COMPLETE INTERNAL INDEPENDENCE WITH REST OF INDIA OR TO ENTER INTO TREATY WITH REGARD TO MATTERS OF COMMON CONCERN. WE CANNOT HOWEVER TOLERATE THE KIND OF THREATS OF ECONOMIC PRESSURE AND SUBJUGATION AND OF INTERNAL REVOLT TO WHICH WE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN TREATED BY SOME OF YOUR FRIENDS OF THE CONGRESS HIGH AND LOW COMMANDS. I SHALL ADVISE HIS HIGHNESS TO FIGHT TO THE LAST RATHER THAN SUBMIT TO SUCH THREATS. LET ME ASSURE YOU AS AN OLD FRIEND THAT I AM POSITIVELY THRILLED AND MOVED BY THE OVERWHELMING POPULAR SUPPORT WE ARE RECEIVING. I ONLY WISH THAT CONGRESS WAS LED AT THIS CRITICAL JUNCTURE

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BY MORE MEN LIKE YOU. KIND REGARDS—C. P. RAMASWAMI UNQUOTE MYSELF NOT REPLIED YET PENDING HIS CONFIRMATORY LETTER. BUT NOW WIRED THANKS REACHING MADRAS THIRD MEET FOR FURTHER TALKS.

PATTABHI

That is where matters stand. As Sir C. P. had given his telegram to me on the 23rd midnight, I expect he would have followed it up with a letter which I can only receive tomorrow 27th. In any case I am going to Madras on 3 July and I shall await his arrival in Madras for a further talk or a hint from him in case I should go to Travancore.

I have an idea that Sir C. P. wants to make a distinction between internal independence and autonomy. But as he has virtually accepted my interpretation, I anticipate no difficulty on substantive points. The only thing to evolve is the way to wriggle out of an embarrassing situation for him.

My Madras address is Sreebagh, Mylapore, Madras. I shall leave Madras on the 6th morning by Grand Trunk Express for Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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TELEGRAM

10 July 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE AFTER DESIRING TRAVANCORE INDEPENDENCE AFTER 15 AUGUST ATTEMPTS SUPPRESSION OF PUBLIC OPINION AGAINST HIS POLICY [of] MAKING UNRESTRICTED UNWARRANTED USE OF GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL AGENCY RESOURCES AND POWERS. TERRORIST ORGANISATIONS COMPOSED OF GOONDAS ARE FORMED THROUGHOUT COUNTRY UNDER CONTROL OF POLICE AND OTHER GOVERNMENT AGENCIES TO WRECK PUBLIC MEETINGS AND ASSAULT PUBLIC MEN. K. A. MATHEW EX-LEADER OF STATE CONGRESS LEGISLATURE PARTY WOUNDED ON THE HEAD WHILE ADDRESSING PUBLIC MEETING ON 7 JULY. LIFE OF PUBLIC MEN IN DANGER. MEMBERS OF ABOVE ORGANISATIONS PARADE PUBLIC STREETS ARMED WITH

LATHIS [staves] KNIVES AND OTHER WEAPONS. THEY ARE TRANSPORTED IN LORRIES FROM PLACE TO PLACE WHERE MEETINGS ARE ANNOUNCED. LIFE AND PROPERTY INSECURE. GOVERNMENT VICTIMISE PEOPLE NOT SUPPORTING GOVERNMENT VIEW. CONDITIONS RAPIDLY DEGENERATING INTO WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE IN THE COUNTRY. TRAVANCORE IS SUBJECTED TO UNBRIDLED DICTATORSHIP BY AN IRRESPONSIBLE NON-TRAVANCOREAN DEWAN AND COMPLETE NEGATION OF LAW AND ORDER TO ENFORCE HIS POLICY OF KEEPING THE STATE OUTSIDE INDIAN UNION AGAINST THE WISHES OF PEOPLE. PRAY IMMEDIATE INQUIRY BY AN IMPARTIAL AGENT AND STEPS TO ENSURE GOOD GOVERNMENT

PATTOM A THANU PILLAI
PRESIDENT TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS
TRIVANDRUM

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New Delhi
13 August 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a letter from the Prime Minister of Madras sending a report about propaganda by the Dewan of Travancore in Anjengo. This will no doubt interest you.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Public Department
Fort St. George
8 August 1947

My dear Panditji,

With reference to letter dated 1 August 1947 from your private secretary forwarding a telegram from the president of the Kerala Congress Committee regarding the trouble at Anjengo and Tangasseri, I enclose herewith for your information a copy of a telegram dated 31 July 1947, which the Government of Madras have received from the Resident for the Madras States, Trivandrum, and which was repeated to the Political Department of the Government of India. I desire to make it clear from the outset that, from reports

so far received from the District Magistrate of Tinnevely, it is apparent that the Travancore State authorities are at the root of all the trouble at Anjengo and Tangasseri. The District Magistrate of Tinnevely visited Anjengo recently, when he was told by the president of the Chirayinkil Taluka State Congress Committee and the secretary of the INA Relief Committee that the Travancore State authorities were threatening to raid Anjengo and were making preparations by organising goondas.

2. The following incident, reported by the District Magistrate, will serve to show that the Travancore authorities are making matters difficult for the people at Anjengo. A few days ago, a consignment of 100 bags of rice from Tenkasi taluka (Tinnevely Dt.) was received at Kadakkavoor railway station. An assistant superintendent of police of the Travancore Government who was on special duty at the Kadakkavoor police station prevented the carts loaded with the rice from moving out of the railway station to the ferry although everything was in order. He is reported to have said that a number of Travancore Congressmen who are taking shelter in Anjengo are being fed unlawfully with the rice and for this reason the stock would not be allowed to be taken to Anjengo through Kadakkavoor. He added that he had to see to this arrangement, which was specially designed to reduce the people of Anjengo to starvation. After a long argument lasting about an hour, the carts were allowed to go through as a temporary measure with a warning that on the next occasion nothing at all would be allowed to be taken to Anjengo.

3. This Government have instructed the District Magistrate of Tinnevely to proceed immediately to Anjengo and Tangasseri and to report to them on the situation. I will keep you informed of developments, if any.

Yours sincerely,

O. P. Ramaswami Reddy

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Vice-President
Interim Government
New Delhi

TELEGRAM DATED 31 JULY 1947 FROM THE RESIDENT, MADRAS
STATES, TRIVANDRUM, TO THE CHIEF SECRETARY,
GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS

TRAVANCORE STATE CONGRESS HAS GIVEN NOTICE OF DIRECT ACTION CAMPAIGN
STARTING 1 AUGUST AND INFORMATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED THAT THE ORGANI-
SATION IS USING TANGASSERI AND ANJENGO AS THEIR HEADQUARTERS FOR
PROPAGANDA WORK AND DISTRIBUTION OF PROHIBITED LITERATURE. AGITATORS
INCLUDING COMMUNISTS ARE REPORTED TO BE COLLECTING THERE AND

THERE ARE REPORTS OF A PLOT TO DESTROY THE MILLS AT QUILON. AS THESE ENCLAVES ARE UNDER BRITISH JURISDICTION TRAVANCORE POLICE CANNOT TAKE ACTION. I WOULD REQUEST GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS TO TAKE IMMEDIATE ACTION UNDER STATES PROTECTION ACT OR IN ANY OTHER APPROPRIATE MANNER.

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Hill Palace
22 September 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

Many thanks for your kind letter of the 5th instant and the expression of appreciation contained in it.

I have heard that the Political Department did try to give all sorts of troubles to the Union Government. Indeed I have had secret reports that there was an attempt by Lt. Col. Edwards, the Resident for Madras States, to make the Political Department interfere with my policy and stand. I don't know how far it is true and probably we may not be able to get any of those files now because they might have been destroyed as reported in the papers. Anyway all is well that ends well and let us hope a strong India will emerge as a result of the selfless and unceasing efforts of you and your colleagues. If in any little measure I can render help to you no one will be gladder than I.

You are passing through strenuous and awful times at Delhi and from the newspapers I can see the amazing work of Mahatma Gandhi. Every one of his recent statements on the communal trouble deserves to be written in letters of gold. May God give him long life and success in his noble endeavours.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
Kerala Varma
[Maharaja of Cochin]

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
27 September 1947

My dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your very kind letter of 22 September 1947. None realises more than myself the difficulties that we have had to face from the vested interests like the Political Department and their officers in settling our affairs. It was only with the goodwill and co-operation of genuine friends of India like you that we could pull through.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Maharaja Sri Kerala Varma
Maharaja of Cochin
Cochin

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
10 November 1947

His Highness Maharaja of Cochin
Cochin

RECEIVED YOUR LETTER. AM DISTRESSED TO FIND THAT YOUR GENEROUS RESPONSE TO POPULAR DEMANDS SHOULD HAVE PRODUCED SUCH UNSATISFACTORY SITUATION. WOULD BE MOST WILLING TO ASSIST YOU IN SETTLING MATTERS AMICABLY. WOULD DISCUSS FURTHER WITH YOUR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY WHO I UNDERSTAND IS IMPORTANT PERSON INVOLVED. IF YOU CONSIDER I CAN BE OF HELP [in] ANY OTHER WAY PLEASE LET ME KNOW.

VALLABHBHAI

Kolhapur
5 June 1947

To
Sardar V. Patel
New Delhi

Sir,

I am enclosing herewith a copy of the new Constitution Act passed by the Government of Kolhapur. A cursory glance through it is sufficient to give an idea to its reader about the reactionary, worthless features of the Act. This was framed by no less a person than Mr. A. B. Latthe, former Finance Member of the Government of Bombay under the first Congress regime. Mr. Latthe is now Political Adviser to the Maharaja of Kolhapur on a pay of Rs. 2,500 per month tax free plus allowance.

The Working Committee of the Kolhapur Praja Parishad has severely condemned the said Act and has rightly refused to participate in the new Government.

Mr. Latthe has been chosen as the representative of Kolhapur State to discuss the political matter with you and he is likely to see you in a day or two.

I hope you will, before you see him, acquaint yourself with the real situation in Kolhapur. Mr. N. V. Gadgil, MLA (Central), who is President of the Praja Parishad for this year, has severely condemned this new Act, which is the product of Mr. Latthe's brain. If he is in Delhi he would be in the best position to give you a clear idea about Kolhapur.

I have also sent a letter to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

I have, therefore, to request you to do the needful in the matter and not to be guided by what Mr. Latthe says.

Hoping to be excused for the troubles,

Yours faithfully,
President
Kolhapur State Praja Parishad
Kolhapur

New Palace
Kolhapur
30 June 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I write this to thank you very much for the time you kindly gave to Mr. Latthe when he called on you at Delhi and the frank discussion you had with him on some of the important questions which I have to face at present.

Since his return, the matter is receiving my earnest consideration. I hope in the near future to [apprise] you of my final decision.

Thanking you again for the valuable discussions you had with Mr. Latthe, and with kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Shahaji Chhatrapati

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Palace
Kolhapur
10 August 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have already intimated to you my decision to accede to the Dominion of India in respect of Defence, External Affairs and Communications. I hope you have by now received my communication on the subject. You will have noticed that my decision is clear and definite. I have however been feeling that though I would not wish my accession to be clogged by conditions, I may invite your kind attention to a passage in the speech of His Excellency the Crown Representative at the conference of Princes and States' representatives on the 25th ultimo. Addressing the conference, His Excellency then observed:

"One explanation probably was that some of you were apprehensive that the Central Government would attempt to impose a financial liability on the States or encroach in other ways on their sovereignty. If I am right in this assumption, at any rate so far as some Princes are concerned, I think I must dispel their apprehensions and misgivings. The draft Instrument of Accession, which I have caused to be circulated as a basis for discussion and not for publication to the representatives of the States, provides that the States accede to the appropriate Dominion on three subjects only without any financial liability."

This assurance that the States accede in this case "without any financial liability" is quite clear. All the same, many of us, the Rulers of States, felt that this assurance may be appropriately embodied in the Instrument of Accession then under discussion. The view taken by the Secretary of the States Department was that the Instrument as drafted did mean that there was no financial liability on the States which acceded in terms of that draft. Besides this, the public declaration made by His Excellency on a solemn occasion like that of the conference of 25 July was there to reassure us. But I think it my duty to say that opponents of the accession of States to the Dominion of India are still spreading the impression that once the States sign the Instrument, attempts to subject them to financial burdens in the form of direct taxation may be made. It would, therefore, I suggest, be a very effective check upon this propaganda, and it would also remove possible misgivings about interpretations of the Instrument in the future years, to make a statement on behalf of the Dominion Government of India that the statement of His Excellency quoted above is also the view of your Government. Such a statement by you would go a great way in removing still existing misgivings and silencing all opposition, whether silent or vocal.

I hope you will consider this suggestion in the spirit of absolute friendship in which I have made it to you. A line in reply would oblige.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Shahaji Chhatrapati

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

14 August 1947

My dear Maharaja,

Thank you for your demi-official letter dated 10 August 1947. I am very glad indeed to hear that you have acceded to the Indian Dominion in respect of Defence, External Affairs and Communications. I confirm that this accession does not impose any financial liability or involves encroaching in any other way on their sovereignty except to the extent that it has been agreed to under the Instrument of Accession itself. There need, therefore, be no misgivings or misapprehensions on this score.

No other Prince has raised this doubt and a public statement from me at this juncture might be misconstrued. You could, however, use this letter of mine in such manner as you might consider necessary to remove the misapprehensions, if any, of your brother Princes. This would perhaps be the best way of doing so.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Highness Chhatrapati Maharaja Kolhapur
Kolhapur State (Deccan)

Kolhapur
24 November 1947

My dear Sardarji,

I received your two telegrams—one expressing congratulations and another asking for detailed information regarding the settlement arrived at between the Kolhapur Praja Parishad and the Maharaja. Owing to the internal grave crisis in the Praja Parishad itself I could not write to you earlier nor could send the required information in time; for this unavoidable delay on my part, Sardarji, I hope you will kindly excuse me.

The tragic event of this our internal crisis has had a long and chequered history behind it. Suffice it here to say that we had prepared ourselves for the final struggle with a certainty for complete success, but as bad luck would have it, the Maharaja proved successful in ensnaring our Praja Parishad President, Shri M. K. Bagal, and winning him over to his side. We were compelled to accept the settlement by a peculiar force of circumstances that we were placed in. In spite of this we tried to make the settlement as less faulty as possible. And the good effect of this settlement was all dependent upon the strength of the ministry which was to be instituted by the Praja Parishad. As a result of this, we decided to enter the interim Ministry and selected our front-rank leaders including our President, Shri M. K. Bagal, for four ministerships. But immediately after a suspicion lurked in our mind, which to our regret proved to be true by later events, that Shri Bagal was secretly in league with the Maharaja and that disregarding his own colleagues he was determined to use the Praja Parishad as a king's party and that too on communal lines.

Thus we found ourselves in a very intriguing situation and ultimately decided to dissociate from Shri Bagal. Consequently we, the majority members of the Working Committee, tendered our resignations [from] the Working Committee.

Immediately after we, the resigning members, issued a detailed statement of which a copy is sent herewith for your information. This statement will, I hope, give you an idea as to the present Kolhapur situation and a true perspective of the stand we have taken.

We have sent a requisition to the President to call an extraordinary session of the central body of our Praja Parishad. In that session, we are quite sure that the verdict of that body will be in our favour and we hope once again to hold aloft the Praja Parishad flag on a completely non-communal basis.

I am also sending a copy of the draft covenant entered into by the Maharaja with the Praja Parishad.

Sardarji, we are indeed at this stage struggling against great odds in the grave internal crisis. I shall let you know about further developments as events occur in the future.

Kindly convey my best regards to Shri Maniben.

Yours sincerely,
Ratnappa Kumbhar

ENCLOSURE

STATEMENT BY THE EIGHT MEMBERS OF THE WORKING COMMITTEE OF THE KOLHAPUR STATE PRAJA PARISHAD WHO HAVE TENDERED THEIR RESIGNATIONS

We, the undersigned eight out of the fifteen members of the Working Committee of the Kolhapur State Praja Parishad, have tendered our resignations of our membership of the Working Committee to the Working President, Shri M. K. Bagal, on 17 November 1947. Two of us, namely, Shri M. D. Shreshthi and Shri Ratnappa Kumbhar, have also submitted their resignations of Ministership in the interim Government of Kolhapur State. We offered our resignations not out of a desire to get into power but as a protest against the undemocratic behaviour of Shri Bagal, the Working President who having been in league with the Maharaja did not take his colleagues into confidence, regarded his own person superior to the Praja Parishad, and acted contrary to the directions of the Working Committee. We are here stating bare facts bearing on the situation for the information of the public.

(1) On 12-11-1947 after a discussion in the meeting of the Working Committee it was decided that the following four persons, namely, Shri M. K. Bagal, Shri M. D. Shreshthi, Shri Ratnappa Kumbhar and Shri D. S. Khandekar should represent the Praja Parishad on the interim Ministry.

(2) On 14 November 1947 a meeting of these four Ministers-designate was arranged at 4 p.m. for deciding allotment of portfolios amongst themselves. Shri Bagal came to the meeting late by one hour and stated that as he had gone to the palace he was delayed. On asking him what had transpired at the palace, he retorted that he had some private discussion with the Maharaja which he said he would not disclose to them. Then a discussion ensued. At the outset Shri Bagal gave out that he would take up the portfolios of Education and Home and Shri Khandekar that of Revenue; the rest of the portfolios may be allotted by the two amongst themselves. Shri Ratnappa Kumbhar thereupon expressed his opposition to the dictatorial way in which those proposals were placed before the meeting. Shri Bagal insisted on his retaining the Home Department as Chief Minister-designate. It may be noted that nobody till then was elected as Chief Minister-designate. The discussion prolonged without any definite decision being arrived at. In the end, Shri Ratnappa told Shri Bagal that if the latter in his capacity of the Working President gave them a written order they would abide by it. This meeting ended without coming to any definite conclusions.

(3) On 15 November 1947, the oath-taking ceremony of the four Ministers took place at the palace.

(4) On the 16th inst. a Cabinet meeting of the seven Ministers was arranged at 9-30 a.m. In order to take a decision on the vexed question of division of portfolios a prior meeting of the four Parishad Ministers was convened at 7-30 a.m. at Shri Shreshthi's residence. Shri Bagal and Shri Khandekar did not attend the meeting at the appointed time, and as the Working Committee was scheduled to meet at 9 a.m., this meeting could not take place and even the Cabinet meeting called at 9-30 a.m. was postponed to 4 in the evening.

(5) In the meeting of the Working Committee held at 9 a.m. discussion began on the subject of appointment of a parliamentary board but even here at the outset Shri Bagal asserted that he, the Working President, had entered the Ministry and as such he would not subject himself to the direction of the parliamentary board. Hence it was decided that the Working Committee itself should act as the parliamentary board. Accordingly the Working Committee passed a resolution recording its strong protest against the orders passed by the Darbar (after the announcement of the agreement) concerning new appointments, promotion etc. in the civil services, and directed the Parishad Ministers to abrogate those orders at the very commencement of assuming their charge. The Working Committee meeting adjourned at 2 p.m. to meet again at 9 p.m.

(6) On the 16th it had been agreed to hold a meeting of the four Parishad Ministers at 3 p.m. prior to the postponed Cabinet meeting of the seven Ministers in order to take a decision regarding the allotment of portfolios. But Shri Bagal and Shri Khandekar having not turned up again at the appointed time this meeting could be held only at 4-30 p.m. necessitating a further postponement of the seven Ministers' Cabinet meeting to the next day at 9 a.m.

The meeting of the four Ministers commenced at 4-30 p.m. and after a [brief] discussion Shri Bagal said that regarding the division of portfolios amongst themselves the matter be referred to the Working Committee itself, whereupon Shri Ratnappa implored that it was not proper to entrust that matter to the Working Committee; instead, they should decide it themselves. Before they could arrive at an agreed solution of the problem Shri Bagal and Khandekar left the meeting and went away.

(7) That very night, as announced earlier, the Working Committee was to have met at 9 p.m., but Shri Bagal all of a sudden directed that the meeting was adjourned sine die and that the members coming from the mofussil should leave Kolhapur for their destinations. Shri Barale, the General Secretary, himself came to Shri Shreshthi's house to communicate to Shri Ratnappa Kumbhar of the meeting. There Shri Shreshthi gave a written requisition to the

General Secretary, wherein he pointed out that as no decision regarding the allotment of portfolios was finally arrived at, and as the Cabinet meeting of the seven Ministers was scheduled to take place the next morning at 9 a.m., it was but necessary that that question be decided in the Working Committee and hence the meeting should be held. Consequently, after an hour the General Secretary brought to Shri Ratnappa and Shreshthi the message of Shri Bagal that the Working Committee would meet the next day at 9 in the morning.

(8) On the 17th, when the Working Committee met at 9 a.m., three issues were placed before it for a final decision. They were (1) allotment of portfolios, (2) the incompatibility of one and the same person working as President and Minister and (3) appointment of a parliamentary board for the purposes of selection of candidates etc. for the ensuing election to the Kolhapur Legislature.

When the first issue came up for consideration, votes were taken to decide whether the matter should be again left to the vote of the members for an ultimate decision. The majority favoured the method of voting and as a result when the votes were actually taken, the majority decided to entrust the portfolio of Home Affairs to Shri Ratnappa Kumbhar. After deciding about the portfolios of Finance and Revenue, the majority again decided to allot Supply to Shri Ratnappa Kumbhar, Shri Bagal himself casting his vote in Ratnappa's favour. In deciding about Finance and Revenue, Shri Bagal used his individual as well as casting vote and thus Shri Khandekar was allotted Revenue and by a single casting vote Shri Shreshthi was entrusted with Finance.

When the second issue, namely, that one and the same person cannot act both as the Working President of the Parishad and as a Minister in the Cabinet, Shri Bagal instantaneously said that that point need not be considered at all, for as he was not allotted Home which he very much desired to have, he would tender his resignation of Ministership. He accordingly recorded his disapproval of the Working Committee's decision regarding himself in the letter of resignation itself and tendered the same to the Working Committee. The Working Committee, thereupon, requested him to withdraw the resignation, bringing to his notice that tendering the resignation at that time was tantamount to disregarding the Working Committee's own direction in the matter. Shri Bagal replied that he would at no cost withdraw the resignation; the Working Committee might take any disciplinary action against him if they so chose.

In deciding not to act according to the direction of the Working Committee, Shri Bagal flouted the Working Committee. He also displayed the attitude of a dictator in the matter of allotment of portfolios, acting in the wrong belief of himself being the Chief Minister. As a protest against these flagrant

breaches of democratic procedure, we the eight members of the Working Committee submitted our resignations. On the strength of our majority in the Working Committee we could have accepted Shri Bagal's resignation of Ministership and appointed another person as a Minister in his place, but we thought it better not to use our majority strength. Instead we decided to place our case before the central body of the Praja Parishad for its decision and consequently we came out tendering our resignations [from] the Working Committee.

Shri Bagal in his statement published on 19 November 1947 says that he was entrusted with the leadership of the four Praja Parishad Ministers. This is quite wrong; had he been entrusted with such leadership and the power to allot portfolios amongst his colleagues, he would not have at all called the meeting of the Working Committee on the 17th to consider these same matters. He actually called the meeting to place this issue before it and decided the matter in the light of the votes cast in the meeting.

His contention in the statement that he was made Minister without portfolio is also absolutely mistaken. For, excepting Home, Finance, Revenue and Supply, some of the remaining portfolios like Education would have been entrusted to him. When it was proposed that Supply should be given to him, he himself cast his vote in favour of Shri Ratnappa Kumbhar, allotting Supply to him.

We have placed before the public the facts as they occurred and we hope that the public will now be in a position to appraise the situation.

Ratnappa Kumbhar
Nizam Kazi
M. D. Shreshthi
Shankarrao Mane
B. S. Patil
Dada Ramchandra Magdum
Balawant Kamappa Naik
R. J. Bagade

Covenant between His Highness the Chhatrapati Maharaja Sahib of Kolhapur and the Praja Parishad of Kolhapur State:

Whereas His Highness the Chhatrapati Maharaja Sahib is of opinion that all power emanates from the people and whereas His Highness now wishes to establish full responsible government under the aegis of the Chhatrapati and within the Indian Union, it is agreed between His Highness the Chhatrapati Maharaja Sahib of the one part and the Kolhapur Sansthan Praja Parishad of the other part as follows:

Art. 1: There shall at once be set up an interim ministry to advise and assist His Highness in carrying on the administration of the State in accordance with the terms agreed to in this Covenant.

This ministry shall consist of the following persons:

(1) The Prime Minister of Kolhapur as appointed by His Highness.

(2) Four Ministers nominated by the Praja Parishad of Kolhapur State. The three existing non-official ministers in present Executive Council of Kolhapur State.

The Ministry will function as a body with joint responsibility and the Prime Minister shall preside over the meeting but the other ministers may elect a Chief Minister from among themselves who may preside over the meetings in the absence of the Prime Minister and who shall be the Leader of the Legislature. The Prime Minister may take part in the discussion on matters within the jurisdiction of the Ministry but shall not vote thereon.

The Ministry may similarly discuss matters within the jurisdiction of His Highness and submit their views thereon.

Art. 2: Constituent Assembly: As soon as the Legislature is elected on the franchise provided for in the Dussehra Declaration of His Highness the Ministry shall set up a Constituent Assembly composed of the elected members of the Legislature for the purpose of framing a Constitution Bill for the State of Kolhapur, providing for responsible government, under the aegis of His Highness, which will be promulgated by His Highness when assented to by him and it shall be a part of the fundamental law of the State.

The election of the Legislature shall be by the method of distributive vote.

Immediately after the elections of the Legislature His Highness will call upon the leader of the majority party to advise and assist him [in] the formation of a new ministry.

The following shall be matters within the jurisdiction of His Highness.

1. Army: Provided:

(1) the Army shall be used by His Highness to maintain peace and order on the advice of the Cabinet whenever and wherever necessary and it shall not be used in the State except for the purpose of preventing or suppressing serious breach of peace;

- (2) if the services of the Army are to be placed at the disposal of any other State that will be done only on the advice of the ministry;
- (3) the strength of the Army shall be fixed [and] the budgetary provision shall be made by the Constituent Assembly after taking into consideration all relevant facts.

2. Alienations:

His Highness shall take decisions in consultation with the Cabinet in the following matters:

- (a) permission to adopt according to the law in the State;
- (b) final decisions in heirship enquiry of Dumaldars and persons of similar higher status;
- (c) powers to resume Inams;
- (d) appeals to His Highness shall lie in cases in which the alienations [have] been injuriously affected by any decision of the ministry in accordance with the existing law and rules;
- (e) Jagirdars shall appoint Karbharis and police officers in the Jagirs with the previous approval of His Highness and His Highness shall consult the minister concerned;
- (f) the minister concerned shall have power to make transfers of the police officers to any part of the State when necessary;
- (g) alterations in the existing Inam Land and Vat Hukums shall be made with the sanction of His Highness.
- (h) the judicial officers in the jagirs shall be under the control of the Chief Justice of the Kolhapur High Court who shall have powers to transfer judicial officers to any part of the State and vice versa;
- (i) the judicial officers in the jagirs shall be appointed by the jagirdars with the previous consent of the Chief Justice of the Kolhapur High Court;
- (j) after deducting the civil list allotment for the jagirdars and their families, the remaining revenue of the jagirs shall be under the control of the Kolhapur Government;

- (k) the ministry shall be in charge of all the nation-building departments in the jagirs and shall control all administrative departments therein;
- (l) a scheme shall be formulated to introduce efficiency in the jagir administration and to bring the status, pay, security of services of the jagir servants in line with that obtaining in the State.

- Art. 3: A Public Service Commission shall be appointed by the ministry in consultation with His Highness.
- Art. 4: The treaties with the Indian Union and the other States and agreements with them in respect of co-operation in administration shall be entered into, altered or terminated with the approval of His Highness.
- Art. 5: Protection to minorities shall be on the lines of the Constitution of the Indian Union.
- Art. 6: Emergency will be declared by His Highness on the advice of the ministry.
- Art. 7: The privy purse of His Highness and the royal family for the next five years from the year 1947-48 shall be Rs. 11 lakhs a year only.

After the lapse of these five years, the allotment for the purpose shall be at the rate of 10% of the net revenue of the State up to Rs. 1 crore, at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}\%$ on the excess of revenue above 1 crore up to 2 crores and at the rate of 5% on the revenue in excess of 2 crores.

These percentages will be calculated on the average net revenue of the five years, commencing from the year 1947-48.

- Art. 8: The provisions of the Kolhapur Constitution Act of 1947 shall be amended and shall be considered as amended in so far as those provisions may be repugnant to and inconsistent with the present covenant.
- Art. 9: Except in so far as powers have been hereby reserved by His Highness, the administration of the State shall be in the hands of the Government of Kolhapur.

CHAPTER XV
CONSPIRACIES SCOTCHED

490

Camp Poona
2 November 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

The first meeting of the Constitution-making body of the United Deccan State will have to be convened on some date between 14 and 20 December 1947. I, therefore, on behalf of the Rulers of the ratifying States, wish to address this letter to convey to you our most cordial invitation to honour us and the new State by inaugurating the popular Constitution-making body on the first day of its sitting. We all trust that your presence on the occasion will be a great source of encouragement to us and our people. We know how preoccupied you are at present with grave questions affecting the country. But we hope you will be able to spare a day for us and give your weighty lead to a solution of a most important question. I mean the question of smaller States. We trust that you will accept the invitation.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Bhawanrao
Rajpramukh
United Deccan State

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister of States
Government of India
New Delhi

New Delhi
8 November 1947

My dear Raja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter dated 2 November 1947.

2. It is rather early for me to commit myself about a programme for the third week of December. If you would kindly remind me about the first week of December, I shall let you know. Many thanks for your invitation for the same.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Raja Shrimant Bhawanrao
Shrinivasrao alias Bala Saheb Pant
Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh
Aundh
Deccan States

TELEGRAM

Aundh
21 November 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

ASSOCIATED PRESS NEWS FROM NEW DELHI STATES YOU NOT COMING MIRAJ INAUGURATE DECCAN STATE UNION CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. MOST FERVENTLY HOPE NEWS UNTRUE. WE WILL POSTPONE INAUGURATION INDEFINITELY TO SUIT YOUR CONVENIENCE IF NECESSARY. DEPUTATION OF DECCAN RULERS WILL FLY TO DELHI TO CONVINCE YOU OF THE URGENCY AND NECESSITY OF YOUR PRESENCE FOR INAUGURATION. LETTER [follows].

RAJA OF AUNDH AND RAJPRAMUKH

493

TELEGRAM

24 November 1947

Raja Sahib of Aundh
Aundh

MANY THANKS YOUR LETTER OF 21ST AND TELEGRAM DATED 21
NOVEMBER. MUCH REGRET IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR ME TO LEAVE
DELHI NEXT MONTH. WOULD SEND YOU MESSAGE ON THE OCCASION.

VALLABHBHAI

494

TELEGRAM

Poona

2 December 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Minister for States
New Delhi

RULERS OF DECCAN UNION WISH TO SEE YOU REGARDING DECCAN
STATE UNION QUESTION. TENTH ELEVEN OR TWELFTH DECEMBER
WOULD SUIT US. KINDLY WIRE DATE AND HOUR TO RAJASAHIB
PHALTAN DECCAN GYMKHANA POONA. SHALL BE GRATEFUL.

RAJA OF AUNDH

495

TELEGRAM

New Delhi

3 December 1947

Rajasahib Phaltan
Deccan Gymkhana
Poona

REFERENCE TELEGRAM OF RAJA OF AUNDH. CAN SEE DECCAN RULERS
11 DECEMBER. TIME CAN BE FIXED ON ARRIVAL DELHI.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

465

496

TELEGRAM

Poona
4 December 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

YOUR TELEGRAM. WE ALL GRATEFUL. . . . WE ALL ARRIVING DELHI
9TH EVENING BY AIR INDIA AFTERNOON PLANE.

RAJA OF PHALTAN

497

TELEGRAM

Miraj
22 December 1947

Sardar Patel
New Delhi

DELIGHTED INFORM YOU THAT DECCAN UNION PRAJAMANDAL UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED THE FOLLOWING. QUOTE IN VIEW OF THE TREND OF PUBLIC OPINION AND RECENT EVENTS AND THE GENERAL FEELING AMONG THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED DECCAN STATES THE PRAJAMANDAL RESOLVED THAT IF THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE AND THE CONSTITUTION-MAKING BODY DESIRE THAT INSTEAD OF PROCEEDING WITH THE FRAMING OF THE CONSTITUTION STEP MAY BE TAKEN TO MERGE THE STATE INTO BOMBAY PROVINCE THE PRAJAMANDAL WILL NOT STAND IN THEIR WAY. PRAJA PARISHAD ASSEMBLY MEMBERS WHILE CONGRATULATING PRAJAMANDAL FOR THEIR WISE BENEVOLENT DECLARATION EXPRESSED THEIR VIEWS IN FAVOUR OF MERGING UNQUOTE SELF AWAITING INSTRUCTIONS STANDING COMMITTEE AISPC AND INDIA GOVT. STATES DEPARTMENT REGARDING METHOD TO BE ADOPTED ASCERTAINING PUBLIC OPINION IN THE UNION STATE. SELF REQUESTS YOUR KINDNESS SEND MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS TO RAJPRAMUKH AUNDH. KINDLY INSTRUCT ME . . . AS TO METHOD TO BE ADOPTED FOR ASCERTAINING POPULAR WILL AND FUTURE COURSE OF ACTION. WILLING TO COME DELHI IF NECESSARY.

KAMALNAYAN BAJAJ

466

498

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
24 December 1947

Shri Kamalnayan Bajaj
Miraj

YOUR TELEGRAM TWENTYSECOND. I AM SENDING A TELEGRAM TO RAJPRAMUKH COME TO DELHI AS SOON AS POSSIBLE TO SETTLE OTHER QUESTIONS.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

499

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
24 December 1947

Rajpramukh
Deccan Union
Aundh

AM DELIGHTED TO KNOW THAT RULERS OF DECCAN UNION HAVE GENERALLY MAINTAINED A PROGRESSIVE OUTLOOK AND SHOWED THEIR WILLINGNESS TO ADJUST THEMSELVES TO CHANGING CONDITIONS AND ACCEPTED THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE AS DETERMINING FACTOR IN ITS FUTURE. THIS IS IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PRINCIPLES WHICH UNDERLAY THE FORMATION OF THE UNION ITSELF AND THE SUREST WAY OF MAINTAINING PEACE AND HAPPINESS FOR THE PRINCES AND THE PEOPLE. PLEASE ACCEPT MY HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS ON THIS DECISION.

VALLABHBHAI PATEL

[Memorandum of the Deccan States peoples' delegation regarding the proposed Deccan State Union—See Appendix III.]

Aundh

14 November 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I was delighted to meet you during my stay in Delhi last. Both Maharashtrians and Gujaratis—in fact the whole of the country—are proud of you, especially Hindus for whom you are the one person to protect their interests. I cannot express how deep are my regards for you. The whole of your life has been devoted to the cause of the country and humanity. Now my request to you is—which I have already made personally also—that Hinduism and cow cannot go separately. I know only very well that you have got the interest in your heart for the protection of the cow and certainly you have been doing whatever has been in your power. May I request you that till legislation is made at the Centre, you please write a line to the Prime Minister, Bombay, and others in Bombay province to mobilise public opinion and get their support to protect the cow and strengthen the hands to make legislation at the Centre? But it must be complete stoppage of cow slaughter; otherwise if partial measures are adopted, there is apprehension of their being bypassed. Suppose, for example, slaughter of cows aged over 12 is allowed, many people may slaughter younger ones by falsely declaring that they are old; so this evil must be stopped completely and once it is done in Bombay, other provinces are bound to follow suit.

I hope you do not mind my troubling you, as I am a well wisher and admirer of yours.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Bhawanrao
Raja of Aundh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

501

New Delhi
25 November 1947

My dear Raja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 14 November 1947. I fully realise the sentiments of people in regard to the protection of cow, but I suggest that you approach the Provincial Government direct. I am sure you need no introduction from me to the Bombay Premier.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Raja Shrimant Bhawanrao
Shrinivasrao alias Bala Saheb Pant
Pratinidhi, Raja of Aundh
Aundh
Deccan States

502

TELEGRAM

Bhuj
15 February 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PRAJA PARISHAD OF CUTCH VIEWS WITH CONSTERNATION THE PROPOSAL OF GROUPING CUTCH WITH A STATE OR STATES OF KATHIAWAR FOR REPRESENTATION ON THE INDIAN CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. CUTCH IS A CLEARCUT UNIT AND HAS A STATUS WHICH THE PEOPLE OF CUTCH VALUE. THE RELATIONS OF CUTCH WITH THE UNION OF INDIA MAY BE UNLIKE THOSE OF THE NEIGHBOURING STATES AND CAN BE PROPERLY DEFINED ONLY IF CUTCH IS REPRESENTED BY ITS OWN INDEPENDENT MEMBER. CUTCH'S VALUE MEMBERSHIP OF THE ALL-INDIA UNION AND ALSO ATTACH EQUAL IMPORTANCE TO ITS INDIVIDUALITY WITHIN THE UNION. PRAJA PARISHAD OF CUTCH WILL NOT BE A PARTY TO ANY ARRANGEMENT COMPROMISING THE STATUS OF CUTCH WHICH MAY BE PROPOSED BY THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES.

469

PRAJA PARISHAD EMPHASIZES THAT ONLY PEOPLE'S ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE WILL BE ABLE TO FIGHT FOR THE HIGH STATUS OF CUTCH AND AT THE SAME TIME RECONCILE IT WITH THE ALL-INDIA UNION. PRAJA PARISHAD HAS ALREADY REQUESTED MAHARAO OF CUTCH TO APPRECIATE THIS STAND AND TO RESIST ANY ARRANGEMENT WHICH MAY COMPROMISE THE STATUS OF THE RULER AS WELL AS OF THE PEOPLE.

GULABSHANKER AMRITLAL DHOLAKIA
PRESIDENT, CUTCHEE PRAJAKIYA PARISHAD

503

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
14 March 1947

Balvantray Mehta
Praja Parishad
Bhavnagar

REGRET INSTEAD GIVING RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT NEW TAXES IMPOSED. ON ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLE OF NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION PEOPLE MUST RESIST SUCH ARBITRARY IMPOSITION.

VALLABHBHAI

504

TELEGRAM

Delhi
7 May 1947

Colonel Himmatsinghji
Taj
Bombay

THANKS SARDAR INVITES THEIR HIGHNESSES AND YOU LUNCH SUNDAY ELEVENTH. PLEASE WIRE ACCEPTANCE.

SHANKAR

505
TELEGRAM

Jamnagar
7 May 1947

Mr. Shankar
New Delhi

FOR CONVERSATION BOTH HIGHNESSES ARRIVING ELEVENTH MORNING
BY AIR DEPARTING TWELFTH MORNING. PLEASE ARRANGE MEETING
SUNDAY EVENING. KINDLY WIRE CONFIRMATION CARE TAJ HOTEL
BOMBAY BEST WISHES.

HIMMATSINGHI

506

Bombay
10 May 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member
New Delhi
Respected Sir,

I confirm having sent you the following telegram:

"NEWSPAPERS REPORT JAMSAHEB COMING TO YOU FOR CONSULTATION. PLEASE
CONVEY VEHEMENT OPPOSITION OF PEOPLE AGAINST HIS CONFEDERATION SCHEME
WHICH EXCLUDES PEOPLE AND IN WHICH PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVES ARE
NOT CONSULTED. PEOPLE OF KATHIAWAR DEMAND ONE SINGLE POLITICAL
ADMINISTRATIVE UNIT FOR KATHIAWAR ON THE BASIS OF THE SOVEREIGNTY
OF THE PEOPLE.

SECRETARY
KATHIAWAR PRAJA MANDAL"

Yours truly,
K. M. Shah
for Kathiawar Praja Mandal
Secretary

Narendra Niwas
Mount Abu
17 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

Jatashankar Pathak came today from Rajkot to Abu. He gave me the following information which I am conveying to you for what it is worth.

There was a gathering of Rulers in Kathiawar with the Jamsaheb as leader. The Resident and Political Agent are out to Balkanize India and advised the Rulers accordingly. The argument is that if Travancore can declare independence the Kathiawar States, being maritime States, can do likewise. The advantage is that they can rule without any interference from Delhi and develop their ports and they need not depend upon India for anything.

A secret meeting was held under the presidency of the Resident. It was decided that a "Union of Kathiawar" should be formed covering the whole peninsula and that it would declare sovereign independence subject to the right of Junagadh to declare separate independence or to join Pakistan. In case Junagadh separated, it would enter into an offensive and defensive treaty with the Union of Kathiawar and they would resist Baroda's claim to tribute. The Jamsaheb would be the President of the Union and seven States should constitute a council to govern the peninsula. The seven States are Jamnagar, Bhavnagar, Gondal, Porbander, Morvi, Dhrangadhra and Junagadh. Pattani of Bhavnagar was at the meeting. The constitution of the Union is under way. The Resident is helping and the Jamsaheb has promised to put up a crore of rupees in furtherance of the scheme. Baroda was severely criticised for joining the Constituent Assembly and all the States decided to repudiate Baroda's claim to tribute.

Pathak asked Major Hailey, the Political Agent, why Baroda should not get its tribute. Hailey said that the tribute was more than a hundred years old and when Britain was resigning sovereignty, Baroda's sovereignty fell with it. Whatever the logic may be, there it is.

Junagadh's position is that it will either declare separate independence or join Pakistan.

A document was signed, but it is secret at the moment. Major Hailey refused to disclose the contents.

Yours sincerely,
B. L. Mitter¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

508

Abu
15 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

You will be shocked to know that Ahmed Rahimtulla, Presidency Magistrate, Bombay, and son of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, has by a ukase of our Maharaja been appointed President of the Baroda Privy Council. No reference was made to me, nor was I consulted.

I am fed up.

Yours sincerely,
B. L. Mitter

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

509

Mount Abu
24 June 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

The stage is set for my leaving Baroda. I got the following cable from the Maharaja of Baroda:

PLEASE HAND OVER NALA RAJE TO JAIPUR AUTHORITIES. COMMUNICATE WITH
H. H. MAHARAJA OF JAIPUR.

Nala Raje is our Maharaja's first cousin, being a grandson of Maharaja Sayaji Rao, son of a predeceased son. He was in

¹ Member, Viceroy's Executive Council; Federal Advocate-General; Dewan of Baroda; acting Governor of West Bengal

Jaipur and had some disagreement with the Maharaja and came away. Sita Devi [Maharaja's second wife] hates Nala Raje. . . .

I am not going to arrest Nala Raje. There is habeas corpus in Baroda of Sayaji Rao. The next cable will be my dismissal. But before that, I shall resign.

Yours sincerely,
B. L. Mitter

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

510

New Delhi
29 July 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

The Maharaja of Baroda wants me to seek an interview with the Viceroy over the recognition of Sita Devi. I have written to Mieville, and have, in a separate private letter, suggested a solution. The Maharaja can be very useful now if it be possible to meet him to some extent. Here is my solution. Let Sita Devi be described in the passport as "Maharani Sita Devi," instead of "Srimati Sita Devi." The reasons are these:

1. She cannot be called Maharani of Baroda, as Baroda is a monogamy State and there can be but one Maharani.
2. "Maharani" is used gramatically only as the feminine of "Maharaja," as a Duke's wife is called Duchess. The term "Maharani" is not a title, as it is not accompanied by "Her Highness" nor is it conferred by the King.

The above solution will meet the case, by simply directing the passport officer to amend the passport where she is already described as the wife of the Maharaja of Baroda.

Yours sincerely,
B. L. Mitter

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

New Delhi
4 August 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I saw the Viceroy today about the recognition of Sita Devi as Maharani. He said that, in appreciation of the Maharaja's conduct in connection with the new political set-up, he would request the Secretary of State to amend the Passport [Act] by describing the lady as "Maharani Sita Devi"—without "Her Highness" or "Baroda."

This is for your information.

I am going to Baroda tomorrow for a week and shall be back on 12 or 13 August.

Yours sincerely,
B. L. Mitter

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

Mount Abu
1 July 1947

My dear Panditji,

I have no desire to encroach on your valuable time. But I must keep you informed of what is going on on this side [of] India, so that you may not be caught napping.

The Jamsaheb is reported to be negotiating with Jinnah regarding his port of Bedi Bandar. If this port and Veraval, the Junagadh port, come into the orbit of Karachi, Bombay will be seriously affected. Karachi is bound to grow in importance. To counterbalance this, we must not only strengthen Bombay by taking over all the Kathiawar ports, but by utilising Kutch, where we can have not only a good port, but an air base and sea plane base. Another advantage will be to link up western India with Assam by a continuous metre-gauge line through northern India. Kutch is of great strategic importance. [C.S.] Venkatachar of Jodhpur has worked out the problem.

The point is that we must not rely upon Karachi, but must have our own gateway of India by air and sea.

Please do not trouble to acknowledge this letter.

Yours sincerely,
B. L. Mitter

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

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TELEGRAM

Lunawada
30 June 1947

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PRESENT DEWAN SAHIB BALASINOR STATE TRANSFERRED GUJARAT STATES COUNCIL. NINETYONE PERCENT HINDU POPULATION DESIRE HINDU DEWAN. PRESENT SITUATION MOST CRITICAL. NOT ADVISABLE GOING AGAINST ENORMOUS MAJORITY WILL OTHERWISE EVERY POSSIBILITY OF BREACH OF PEACE. KINDLY INSTRUCT AUTHORITIES CONCERNED ACCORDINGLY BEFORE TOO LATE.

BIRPUR HINDU PUBLIC

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TELEGRAM

Nadiad
5 July 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

BESIEGE INDUCE PETTY SEMIJURISDICTIONAL BHADARWA STATE'S RULER TO SURRENDER CROWN REPRESENTATIVES RESIDUARY POWERS TO CENTRAL GOVT AFTER PARAMOUNTCY LAPSES OTHERWISE DANGEROUS FOR SUBJECTS.

SHANKERLAL RATILAL SHAH
PRESIDENT BHADARWA STATE PRAJAMANDAL

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TELEGRAM

Ahmedabad
8 July 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

BESEECH INDUCE PETTY SEMIJURISDICTIONAL DEROL STATE'S
(SABARKANTHA) RULER TO SURRENDER CROWN REPRESENTATIVES
RESIDUARY POWERS TO CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AFTER PARAMOUNTCY
LAPSES OTHERWISE DANGEROUS FOR SUBJECTS.

PRESIDENT DEROL STATE PRAJAMANDAL

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Wadhwan City
30 July 1947

Dear Sardar Sahib,

I read in the newspapers that the States Department in your charge will assume all the political powers which the defunct Crown Department exercised. The poor and oppressed voiceless people in these territories will read this news with great relief. I wonder why the semi-jurisdictional 3rd and 4th Class States have been left out; they are equally petty and do not deserve independence and full powers.

I also read that you intend to retain the English Political Officers in Kathiawar in your service. I do not think this can be true, but if at all it is your wish, I must inform you that they are a hopelessly inefficient lot, arrogant, insolent and most dangerous intriguers. It is they and their class who have, as you know personally, been the cause of all our evils; they must be sacked at once.

If you will kindly read the preamble of the Foreign Jurisdiction Order in Council, 1902, you will find that the source and authority of the political powers of paramountcy which the King-in-Council exercised through the Political Department are stated to have been derived from "conquest, usage, sufferance" and all

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other diverse courses. Step by step, the Union Government of India can also assume all those powers on the same grounds and the further grounds of necessity to prevent a breach of the peace or conflict, which may spread in the territory under the Union Dominion and on the ground that it is the Union Government of India's responsibility to maintain peace in the territories of the States, big and small. These are called extra-territorial powers.

I read in the newspapers that Baroda is trying to maintain the attachment of about 200 states and estates forcibly attached to it against the will of the people and the Chiefs and the Talukdars of the attached areas; almost chaotic conditions prevail in all the attached areas; there is unmentionable corruption and tyranny under which the lakhs of people in these units are groaning; hundreds of cases, civil, criminal, political and Giras are pending in the courts of the Special Officers of the attached areas undisposed, and the sufferings of the litigants are terrible. Please see that all these units are detached and placed under the direct administration of your department.

Yours sincerely,
P. L. Chudgar¹

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Minister
New Delhi

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New Delhi
4 August 1947

My dear Chudgar,

I have your letter of 30 July 1947.

There is no truth in the fact that the States Department will inherit the powers and the evils of the Political Department, but it is intended to be of help to the States as well as the people.

There is no question of retaining any Political Officers in Kathiawar, either European or Indian. Paramountcy will disappear from 15 August, and it is hoped that neither the Princes nor the people will shed any tear for its disappearance. Maybe that there [will] be a temporary vacuum, but time and circumstances will evolve a suitable machinery which, while abandoning all the

¹ Lawyer; leader of States Peoples' Conference

evils of the defunct Crown Department, will work in co-operation with the people and the Princes and create an atmosphere of peace and harmony.

I do not know anything about the attempts of the States to grab and attach the non-jurisdictional States who will be detached by 15 August. The Attachment Order dies with the lapse of paramountcy, and it will be open to these smaller units to do what they wish to do. There is no compulsion and they can just do what they like.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

P. L. Chudgar, Esq. Bar-at-Law
Wadhwan City
Kathiawar

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Fatehbag Palace
Lunawada
6 August 1947

My dear Hon'ble Sardar Patel,

I am really thankful to you for so kindly giving me some time to see you on the 26th ultimo when I was in Delhi.

Though we met each other for the first time I must say without any hesitation that it had its desired effect of knowing and understanding the views of each other. I carry with me the sweet and pleasant memories of my talk with you, and I am confident that such contacts are bound to strengthen the relations of the States and the Dominion of India.

It is needless to emphasize that my State will accede to the Dominion of India and will [sign] the standstill agreement.

Trusting this will find you in the enjoyment of excellent health, and with warmest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Virbhadra Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Home Member
New Delhi

9 August 1947

Dear Maharaja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 6 August 1947. I am glad that you have returned to your State fully assured and that you intend to accede to the Dominion of India and sign the standstill agreement.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lieut. Maharana Shri Virbhadrasinghji Ranjitsinghji
Raja of Lunawada
Lunawada

TELEGRAM

New Delhi
8 October 1947

From Statesind New Delhi
To Dewan, Porbandar Janjira Bhavnagar Nawanagar Baroda
Morvi

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT SHIPS OF ROYAL INDIAN NAVY MAY VISIT SOME OF YOUR PORTS ON KATHIAWAR COAST DURING PRESENT EMERGENCY. KINDLY INFORM LOCAL OFFICIALS OF THIS POSSIBILITY. GOVERNMENT OF INDIA HOPE THAT STATE ADMINISTRATION WOULD DO EVERYTHING TO WELCOME THESE SHIPS AND THEIR OFFICERS.

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New Delhi
17 November 1947

My dear Vallabhbhai,

I enclose a telephone message received here today from Bombay.

Jawaharlal Nehru

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

Communal riots have broken [out] in Rajkot, Kutiana and Bagisara in Junagadh State. The minorities there are supposed to be in danger. I have just got this information from the Memons of Kathiawar who have reached Bombay today. Therefore, Prime Minister, India, is requested to take necessary steps in this connection.

Dr. Ghulam Himmam
of Calcutta
(now in Bombay)

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New Delhi
18 November 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

Thank you for your letter dated 17 November 1947 regarding a report which you have received about communal riots in Rajkot and in Junagadh State. It seems that yesterday some trouble was created by refugees at Rajkot and they occupied some houses of Muslims who had left for Pakistan. The situation was brought under control by the State authorities almost at once and I was informed by the Regional Commissioner that everything was peaceful and under control. In two or three places in Rajkot a wandering tribe called "Mehers" assembled, intent upon loot, but our forces succeeded in dispersing them. In Kutiana, some

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members of the same tribe, who had sided with the provisional Government, also looted some shops, but they have all been disarmed and the head of the provisional Government, Mr. Samaldas Gandhi, himself succeeded in enforcing order. Our troops and police are also on the spot.

The Regional Commissioner told me that the situation was peaceful and there was no cause for anxiety.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
New Delhi

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EXTRACTS

Tower Bungalow
Rajpipla
16 December 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai,

In my last letter I wrote as follows:

"These constitutions (i.e. of Rajpipla and Dharampur) have provided for immediately taking up popular leaders in the Executive Council of the States, for allocating nation-building departments to them and for giving them independent powers in the administration of these departments. They have further provided for associating them in the framing of budgets and the Legislative Council is given powers to vote on all matters except some which are excluded as non-votable. So far as they go, they are a great advance on the present state of things, and can be improved upon in the light of experience."

In the meantime it is prudent and expedient to move slowly.

But flushed by the advent of "changed times and fast changing times," they claim the whole hogg and create feelings of fear and uneasiness in other classes of the people.

If you approve of the proposed constitution so far as it goes, there is a case for your intervention with the local Lok Sabha leaders and prevent their action and consequent disturbances.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
C. M. Gandhi

New Delhi
21 December 1947

My dear Dewan Bahadur,

Thank you for your letter dated 16 December 1947 regarding Rajpipla.

I am afraid it would be impossible for things to be settled in the slow and gradual manner in which you propose. Times are now different. What people want is immediate substantial results and not stepping stones. Rajpipla has a recent history which is entirely distasteful to the people. I know the conditions there full well. Twice I have presided over the meeting of the Political Conference. While in Bombay we are following the policy of prohibition, this State believes in increasing its excise revenue periodically and subsisting on it. I doubt if in such circumstances the proposals which you have made would cut any ice.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Dewan Bahadur Chunilal M. Gandhi
Ardesar Kotwal Road
Surat

TELEGRAM

Ludhiana
16 May 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

SERIOUS REPRESSION IN PATIALA STATE AGAINST PRAJA MANDAL WORKERS FOR PROTESTING AGAINST ARBITRARY NOMINATIONS TO CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. SIXTEEN WORKERS ARRESTED BARNALA TEN DAYS BACK. SIX ORDERED TO APOLOGISE SIX STILL IN POLICE LOCKUP SERIOUS COMPLAINTS OF MALTREATMENT. IMMEDIATE ENQUIRY NECESSARY.

GURDASRAM LODHA
PRESIDENT CITY CONGRESS
LUDHIANA

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Kapurthala House
3 Man Singh Road
New Delhi
18 December 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I would like to come and see you on any day during my stay here till 4 January next.

I can come about 12 o'clock.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Jagatjitsingh
Maharaja of Kapurthala

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16 September 1947

My dear Maharaja,

I have just learnt that you intend leaving for the UK tomorrow. I should very much like to talk over various matters with you before you leave and would be glad if you could postpone your departure by a day or two, and in any case if you could see me before you leave.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.H. The Maharaja of Faridkot
Faridkot House
New Delhi

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Faridkot House,
New Delhi
17 September 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

Please refer to your immediate letter of 16 September 1947 and my visit of this morning. I am writing to confirm that I shall be staying and not going abroad. I am grateful for your kind assurance that you will keep in mind the vital necessity for us in Faridkot to co-ordinate our agricultural and industrial policy so that we may not be weak economically and will give your valuable support to achieve it.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,
Harindar Singh

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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Loharu
(Punjab)
Maiden's Hotel
Delhi
9 August 1947

My dear Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,

I am in Delhi for a short stay till the 15 instant. While here I have a desire, if possible, to call upon you personally. If therefore convenient to you I should be grateful to know of time and date when I might do so.

With kindest regards and respects,

Yours sincerely,
Amin-ud-Din
Nawab of Loharu

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New Delhi
9 August 1947

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of today's date.

I shall be glad to see you on Monday, the 11th instant, at 10 a.m. at my house No. 1 Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Captain Nawab Mirza Amin-ud-Din
Ahmad Khan Bahadur
Nawab of Loharu
Maiden's Hotel
Delhi

4 August 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

I am sending you herewith a copy of the letter which I have written to the Maharaja of Sirmur. I hope this will succeed in eliciting a favourable reply before 15 August.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Rear Admiral Viscount
Mountbatten of Burma
The Viceroy's House
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

4 August 1947

Dear Maharaja Sahib,

You will recall that when you were here you said you wanted some time before finally announcing your accession to the Indian Dominion, and I agreed that in view of the very special circumstances vis-a-vis Kashmir, you could take that much time. The period has now expired and I thought I would write to you to enquire when you propose to make the announcement. It is necessary that it should be as soon as possible and in any case before 15 August after which I am afraid the present basis of accession will no longer be open.

With best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Lt. His Highness Maharaja Rajindra Parkash Bahadur
Maharaja of Sirmur (Nahan)

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New Delhi
6 November 1947

My dear Shankar,

I consulted Mahtab on the telephone about the Eastern States. He agreed with me that it would be impossible to meet these Rulers if H.M. were to go to Orissa the day after tomorrow. On the other hand, he accepted my suggestion that they should be invited to a conference here on the 14th or 15th instant when the Orissa Prime Minister would also be here. I told Mahtab that H.M. also accepted the suggestion, and asked him to invite on H.M.'s behalf those Rulers concerned to come up here, which he promised to do. The conference could be fixed on the 15th or 16th according to H.M.'s convenience.

Yours sincerely,
V. P. Menon

V. Shankar, Esq., ICS
Private Secretary to H.M. States

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New Delhi
9 November 1947

My dear Menon,

Thank you for your letter of 6 November 1947 regarding a conference of the Eastern States. H.M. regrets that neither the 15th nor the 16th would be suitable as those are the dates on which the AICC meets. 14th would be more suitable if that can be managed.

Yours sincerely,
V. Shankar

V. P. Menon, Esq., CSI, CIE
Secretary
Ministry of States
New Delhi

The Palace
Sandur
6 July 1947

My dear Sardar Patel,

I am sending herein enclosed a post copy of the telegram I sent you this morning, offering our warmest greetings to you on your assumption of office as the head of the new States Department.

2. I am also enclosing, for your information, a copy of a Notification dated 23 June 1947, appointing Meherban V. Narasimha Rao, Political Member, State Executive Council, Sandur, as their fully authorised representative at the headquarters of the Union of India, for the purpose of providing information, eliciting replies and to secure co-operation. I and my Government would be grateful if you can kindly give him the necessary assistance.

I expect to visit Delhi very shortly, when I hope to have the pleasure of renewing our acquaintance.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Y. R. Ghorpade

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

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16 July 1947

My dear Raja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 6 July 1947 and the telegram of the same date. I am grateful to you for the kind thoughts you have expressed in your letter and the telegram and I have no doubt that if the spirit in which I am approaching my task meets with the response which it deserves from the Rulers of Indian States our motherland can look forward to that period of peace and prosperity which is so dear to our hearts.

I am glad that Your Highness has already taken [steps] to appoint a representative at the headquarters of the Government of India.

I am looking forward to seeing you.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Raja Shrimant Yeshwantrao Hindurrao Ghorpade
Ruler of Sandur
Sandur

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Dhenkanal
31 August 1947

My dear Hon'ble Sardarji,

I had been to Calcutta last week and had the privilege of meeting Mahatmaji there. Among other things, I spoke to him about the constitutional reforms that I wanted to introduce in my State immediately, providing for a popular Legislative Assembly, taking in 50 per cent of Ministers from the non-official elected members of the Assembly and granting full responsible government

within a specified period, by which time the people would have gained some training and experience in the governance of the State.

Mahatmaji was kind enough to advise me to see you in this connection and place the facts before you for your consideration and advice.

I, therefore, propose to send my Chief Minister and one or two of my advisers to meet you with the papers and obtain your valued directions by 25 or 30 September if that will be convenient to you. I am keeping indifferent health but shall try my best to be at Delhi to meet you on the date appointed by you.

I shall be grateful for an early reply.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sankar
Raja of Dhenkanal

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
23 September 1947

My dear Raja Sahib,

Thank you for your letter of 31 August 1947 which I received the day before yesterday.

These days we are very much preoccupied with the Delhi disturbances and the Punjab situation. I would, therefore, suggest that your Chief Minister and advisers come to me some time next month. If you would write to me again in the first week of October, I will suggest a date and time.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Raja Sahib of Dhenkanal
Dhenkanal

Dhenkanal
14 October 1947

My dear Hon'ble Sardarji,

Kindly refer to your letter dated 23 September 1947.

2. I shall be grateful to have the date fixed for an interview any day after Dussehra from the 27th instant onwards as may be convenient to you. I shall take with me the constitution which I propose to introduce in my State till the introduction of full responsible government.

I shall be obliged to have an early reply so that I can make timely arrangements for my stay at New Delhi.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
Sankar

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

New Delhi
21 October 1947

My dear Raja Sahib,

Thank you for your D.O dated 14 October 1947. I shall be here up to 29 October and then from 30 to 5 November I shall be away in Bombay. I suggest that the best course would be if you came here and saw me either on the 28th or 29th.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Raja Sankar Pratap Singh Deo Mahendra
Dhenkanal

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TELEGRAM

Dhenkanal
26 October 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

YOUR LETTER OF TWENTYFIRST RECEIVED HERE TODAY. NOT
PRACTICABLE TO REACH DELHI BEFORE YOU LEAVE. SHALL BE
GRATEFUL FOR DATE DURING NOVEMBER. REGARDS.

RAJA DHENKANAL

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TELEGRAM

27 October 1947

Rajasahib of Dhenkanal
Dhenkanal

YOUR TELEGRAM DATED 26TH. ANY DAY AFTER 6 NOVEMBER WOULD
BE CONVENIENT.

VALLABHBHAI

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Assistant Dewan In Charge
Narsingpur State
Orissa
26 September 1947

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Dominion Government
New Delhi

Sir,

The Darbar has desired me to obtain your esteemed opinion
on the following questions.

The Darbar and the State leaders met in a conference on
17-9-'47 to arrive at a conclusion as to how the State Constituent

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Assembly should be formed to the satisfaction of all on the recognised principles of democracy. The Darbar proposed territorial constituencies for the State Constituent Assembly, while the State leaders proposed that the constituencies should be thrown open to any subject of the State to stand for the State Constituent Assembly. The Darbar holds the view that by having the territorial constituencies, all the people of the State can be properly represented in the State Constituent Assembly, which view stands the test of the democratic system of representation. But the leaders compare the State with India as a whole and say just as Hon'ble Abul Kalam Azad was elected from North West Frontier Province, though he belonged to Calcutta, a person belonging to any village in the State should be allowed to stand from any village though he does not belong to that particular constituency. Again the leaders hold the view as there are no educated men all over the State, so the only educated people of the State should stand in all constituencies.

Another question of interest is whether the Darbar's nominated members in the State Constituent Assembly should be given the right of vote in the State Constituent Assembly proceedings. The leaders agreed to have three nominated members of the Darbar to sit with their 12 elected members in the State Constituent Assembly.

The Darbar hopes that you will give your considered opinions on the above two questions, the answers [to] which are eagerly awaited both by the Darbar and the people, who are anxious to progress in their administration.

I have the honour to be,
Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
R. Pradhan

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Government House
Puri
1 October 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I hope you have continued to enjoy good health in spite of the terrific pressure of public business during the last few weeks. Sitting here in a quiet corner of India, my thoughts constantly go back to the UP and Delhi and the Punjab. I hope normal conditions will soon be restored.

To avoid repetition I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I am sending today to Jawaharlalji. The portion about the Eastern States may interest you particularly.

With my respects to you and namaskars to Maniben,

I am,
Yours very sincerely,
K. N. Katju

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

EXTRACTS

Government House

Puri

1 October 1947

My dear Jawaharlal,

The Eastern States, with which you know Orissa is so interlocked, present another difficult problem. I have no means of knowing exactly what is happening, though the other day Lt. Col. Bedi, the liaison officer stationed at Sambalpur, came and saw both [H. K.] Mahtab and me. He was rather complaining that the rulers did not pay much heed to his advice because they knew he had no political status and could exercise no authority or even moral pressure over them. In fact, the rulers have been asked by their federation to ignore Bedi altogether. The federation constitution is a curious set-up. The executive authority vests in a board of 7 rulers with a president, and there are so-called ministers to aid and advise the board. This is a misuse of language, because the ministers are appointed by, and are responsible to, the board and are in no way responsible to the legislature. This constitution is a complete eyewash and transfers no real power to the people. The prime minister of the federation, Krishnarao, came and saw me and Mahtab the other day and we discussed matters in general. He told me that he was quite alive to the very vague position in regard to the establishment of constitutional government in the States, and they propose to appoint a committee at once to draw up a model constitution for each State. What has been done in furtherance of this proposal I do not know. Meanwhile, so far as I can gather from confidential reports and the writings in the Press, the situation is getting quite explosive. Every day the Orissa Press carries stories of repressions in one or other of these petty States. The latest is that the federation has employed a police force of 700 recruited from Pakistani Muslims and others and so on.

The Praja Mandals in some States are carrying on vigorous propaganda and we get the familiar accounts of lathi charges, arrests and detentions without trial. I think these States should be definitely told that they cannot be permitted to swagger about with notions of independent kingship and sovereignty. Many of them are not even as big as some of the zamindaris of the United Provinces, and prior to 15 of August were dancing humbly to the tune of every Political Agent. Orissa can boast of a strong Press, four dailies and several weeklies, very wide awake, able and fully representative of all shades of political opinion in the country. This Press is unanimous in its attitude towards the Eastern States and strongly advocates the establishment of genuine responsible government therein. Having regard to the slender resources of the province and of these States acting in isolation, it is imperative in the interest of further development that there should be the closest co-operation between them. This is a point which I stressed in my address in the legislature and I catalogued a long list of colleges and institutions which are urgently required in the interests of national development. I imagine the States Department, in spite of its other preoccupations, is fully alive to the gravity of the position in this part of India, and effective measures [will] soon be adopted to set this right and to bring these Eastern States "potentates" to a just appreciation of their true position. I emphasise this because if there is any serious development in any State and any untoward incident takes place I have not a shadow of doubt that public opinion in the province will side wholly with the States' people, and even the provincial Government may be forced—not that they will be the less willing themselves—to take active sides in the controversy. You may be aware of the very strong resolution adopted by the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee on this matter.

Yours sincerely,
K. N. Katju

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru
Prime Minister of India
New Delhi

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New Delhi
6 October 1947

My dear Katju,

Thank you for your letter dated 1 October 1947. I was much interested to read its contents, particularly those relating to the Eastern States. I would be grateful if you would keep me in touch with developments on that side from time to time.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

His Excellency Dr. Kailash Nath Katju
Governor of Orissa
Puri

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New Delhi
16 July 1947

My dear Pantji,

The Nawab of Rampur has written to me that a campaign is being organised against the State from the neighbouring districts of UP and that objectionable pamphlets are being circulated by one Saulat Ali Khan, an old Rampuri agitator. I feel that we should take early action to deal with such agitators under the law and to see that no embarrassment is caused to the Ruler of Rampur from activities in our districts. I hope you will take action accordingly.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

The Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant
Prime Minister
United Provinces
Lucknow

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TELEGRAM

Moradabad
4 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

SERIOUS RIOTING IN RAMPUR CITY. MUSLIM POPULATION COMPLETELY OUT OF HAND. CROWD ATTACKED POLICE AND OFFICIALS. POLICE COMPELLED FIRE. SO FAR KNOWN THREE MEN KILLED FIVE INJURED. SINCE THEN CROWDS INCREASING AND SETTING FIRE TO GOVERNMENT PROPERTY AND OFFICERS' HOUSES. APPREHENSIONS ARE THAT SITUATION MAY GET COMPLETELY OUT OF THE CONTROL OF OUR LIMITED FORCES. REQUEST IMMEDIATE HELP OF ARMED POLICE OR ARMY IF POSSIBLE ONE BATTALION OR ATLEAST HALF BATTALION.

NAWAB RAMPUR

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TELEGRAM

New Delhi
4 August 1947

His Highness Nawab of Rampur
(Rampur State)

YOUR TELEGRAM. AM ARRANGING FOR IMMEDIATE DESPATCH OF MILITARY AID.

VALLABHBHAI

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4 August 1947

My dear Nawab Sahib,

With reference to the telephone conversation we had, I am sending herewith Mr. Bear, Officer Commanding, Neemuch Police, with two officers and 300 men. His Excellency the Crown

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Representative has concurred in the despatch of these troops to your State. I hope they will render to you whatever assistance is necessary and will succeed in restoring order with the least possible delay.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Major H.H. Nawab Sir Sayed Raza
Ali Khan Bahadur, Mustaid Jang, KCSI
Nawab of Rampur
Rampur

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TELEGRAM

Rampur
5 August 1947

Hon'ble Sardar Patel
New Delhi

400 MEN OF JATS ARRIVED THIS MORNING FROM BAREILLY. AM MOST GRATEFUL FOR THE PROMPT HELP. SITUATION CONTINUES VERY SERIOUS.

NAWAB RAMPUR

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The Palace
Rampur State, UP
12 August 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

It was my earnest wish to apprise you personally with the situation in Rampur todate, but unfortunately the prevailing conditions in Rampur would not warrant my absence even for a day. Hence this letter.

I am glad to inform you that the situation in Rampur city is gradually improving, and law and order is being re-established. We have tried to make the best possible use of the forces so kindly lent by you, and although it is an unpleasant and distasteful duty, I have been determined throughout to deal firmly with the disturbers of the peace and to teach them a

wholesome lesson which would act as a deterrent hereafter. There have been no untoward incidents in the last two days, except the exchange of shots during the night of 10-11 August between the Rampur Armed Police and Chunni Khan, one of the most desperate of our goondas, who has got several rifles and probably a tommy gun in his possession, [who] killed the Subedar of our Armed Police and got away with the loss of one of his gang. The city is quiet, but I am afraid that the calm is mostly on the surface. The presence of a big force comprising Jats and the Crown Police in addition to our own Forces, the 20-hour curfew, the constant patrolling of the city and the arrest of about 200 goondas and budmashes [bad characters] as well as some of the ring-leaders of the present disturbances, have put the fear of God into the rioters. They have decided to lie low, and the rumour is that they are only biding their time till the Jats and the men of the Crown Police have left Rampur. This view is shared by your officers on duty here.

Soon after the end of the war, we decided to cut down our army and police to the barest minimum in order to be able to finance various beneficent schemes of reconstruction and development. I could never imagine that my people could ever go to such extreme lengths as to necessitate my maintaining a large force on a footing considered necessary during the abnormal times of the war. I have now decided to increase the strength of my armed police and the army for the time being and to equip the police and the jail force with 303 rifles instead of the obsolete arms they have got at present. In connection with these matters, I need your help urgently in the following manner:

(i) I should like to recruit 300 men in my army from outside the State. My first preference is Garhwalis and Kumaonis and the second preference is the UP Jats. To equip the above force, we shall require all modern weapons and equipment normally required for half a battalion.

(ii) We shall also require some men for filling up vacancies in the army, the armed police and the jail company, preferably demobilised soldiers, as well as 303 rifles for them.

(iii) We also require motor transport for our present force as well as for the additions mentioned above.

(iv) We shall also have to make up deficiencies in the equipment and arms of our existing forces.

A detailed scheme regarding the matters mentioned above will be personally placed before you within a few days by my

Chief Minister and I hope that your kind help in the matter will enable us to put it through with the least delay. I have no doubt that according to the kind assurance already given by you, and the Army Department, the Jats and the Crown Police will be permitted to stay on in Rampur till the restoration of peace and establishment of stable conditions. Furthermore, it would be both expedient and necessary for men of the Crown Police to remain stationed in Rampur till such time as my forces have been re-organised and strengthened as outlined above to cope with all emergencies. The Crown Police will, it is understood, be used by us only in case there is a recrudescence of grave trouble in the future. Any premature withdrawal of these forces would admittedly prove disastrous.

I am sorry to say that we have no intelligence organisation worth the name, and am very grateful that you have already deputed two officers to investigate the underlying causes of the disturbances, and to help us in the restoration of normal conditions. I am in need of a smart, experienced and reliable officer whose services may be lent to me in order to establish a proper Intelligence Department in my State and to stay here till it gets going satisfactorily. In this connection, I suggested the name of an officer, and I understand that you have ordered an enquiry into his record. In the event of a satisfactory report on him, I should like to have his services lent to me at the very earliest, otherwise some other suitable officer of your choice may be lent to me with the minimum of delay.

In the end, allow me to thank you once again for all the friendly interest and sympathy you have evinced in my difficulties and for all the prompt and willing help extended to me.

With kindest regards,

Believe me,

Yours sincerely,
Raza Ali Khan

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
New Delhi

PS.

Since writing the above the Collector and Superintendent of Police, Bareilly, came to see me, and told me that Saulat Ali Khan, an old Rampuri agitator, who has now settled down in Bareilly, is organising a campaign against the State. He has issued a very inflammatory pamphlet with the heading "Rampur men khoon ki holi." He is also trying to raise jathas from various

places to march to Rampur and has sent a telegram to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan soliciting the intervention of the Pakistan Government.

I am informed that a large number of goondas and mischief-makers have absconded to the neighbouring districts of the UP, and are actively engaged in fomenting trouble; a good many of them, it is believed, are armed with weapons. I am drawing the attention of my friend, Pantji, [G. B. Pant, Prime Minister, UP] to this, in order that the mischief may be nipped in the bud.

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TELEGRAM

Allahabad
7 July 1947

Sardar Patel
New Delhi

PRAY ORDER POSTPONEMENT OF INSTALLATION CEREMONY OF MAHARAJA BENARES SCHEDULED FOR 11 JULY. I AM ADVISED TO FILE SUIT AS SUCCESSOR TO BENARES GADDI AGAINST PRESENT MAHARAJA AND GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ON GROUNDS (ONE) CONFIRMATION OF ADOPTION FOR SUCCESSION TO GADDI IS AGAINST GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS SUCH AS ADOPTION SANAD AND INSTRUMENT OF TRANSFER (TWO) CONFIRMATION WAS OBTAINED THROUGH BLACKMAILING HIGH OFFICIALS OF INDIA GOVERNMENT (THREE) PREVIOUS ADOPTIONS NOT FOLLOWED (FOUR) CUSTOMS OF MAHARAJAS' RACE RULES AND USAGES OF HIS FAMILY ARE AGAINST PRESENT ADOPTION (FIVE) MAHARAJA STILL MINOR UNDER TWENTYONE (SIX) MAHARAJA IS A T B PATIENT (SEVEN) LATE MAHARAJA MADE WILL IN MY FAVOUR ON FULFILMENT OF CERTAIN CONDITIONS WHICH ARE FULFILLED. MATTER EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AND URGENT. PRAY ORDER IMMEDIATELY.

KASHIRAJ DWARAKAJI SHERSINGH BAHADUR SHAH KASHIRAJ,
CAMP NATURE CURE, LUKERGANJ, ALLAHABAD.

Finance Department
New Delhi
13 June 1947

My dear Shankar,

I am sending herewith a copy of a memorandum on the position of Indian States after the withdrawal of British authority from India for the kind perusal of the Hon'ble the Home Member. This was prepared very hurriedly about three weeks ago. It is incomplete as regards the remedies.

Yours affectionately,
Narahari Rao

V. Shankar Esq.
Private Secretary to the
Hon'ble Home Member
Home Department
Government of India
New Delhi

ENCLOSURE

MEMORANDUM PREPARED BY THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT, GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, ON THE POSITION OF THE INDIAN STATES AFTER THE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH AUTHORITY FROM INDIA

The position of Indian States and their relations with the future Central authority of the country after the withdrawal of British authority from India is a matter which demands the most careful and urgent attention. In paragraph 14 of their statement dated 16 May 1946 the Cabinet Mission have stated as follows:

"It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new

government. This fact has been fully recognised by those whom we interviewed from the States. They have at the same time assured us that the States are ready and willing to co-operate in the new development of India. The precise form which their co-operation will take must be a matter for negotiation during the building up of the new constitutional structure and it by no means follows that it will be identical for all the States. We have not therefore dealt with the States in the same detail as the provinces of British India in the paragraphs which follow."

And in paragraph 15 they recommended a basic form which the new Constitution should take and which would be most likely to bring about a stable and practicable form of Constitution for all India and this was a Union embracing both British India and the Indian States. The latest statement of His Majesty's Government dated 20 February 1947 contemplates the withdrawal of British authority from India before July 1948 at the latest whether or not by that time a Union has been achieved in the manner contemplated under the declaration of 16 May 1946. In this statement also it is stated that in no circumstances would paramountcy be transferred to any authority in India.

SCOPE OF PARAMOUNTCY

2. It is important to enquire what exactly is meant by paramountcy in this context. It is a pity that the main political parties in India do not appear to have made any attempt, in accepting the Cabinet Mission Plan, to enquire what exactly is the field covered by the term "Paramountcy" which is not to be transferred to any authority in India. Various interpretations appear to have been placed upon this term in the steps that are being taken by the Political Department preparatory to the withdrawal of British authority from India. It is noteworthy that in the first sentence of paragraph 14 of the Cabinet Mission statement dated 16 May 1946 they refer to the "relationship of the Indian States to British India." In the very next sentence they take it for granted that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. A most important question of constitutional law is involved in the policy contained in the latest statement and the theory put forward is that the Indian States are in direct relations with HMG and not with the Government of India or the Central authority of India. It is true that, with a view to driving a wedge between British India, which has been demanding self-government, and the Indian States, the theory had been sedulously fostered for some time before the 1935 Act came into force that, though the Indian Princes dealt with the Governor-General in Council, it was only because he was the agent and representative of His Majesty the King Emperor and not because he was the executive head of the Government of

India. It is not correct to say that the treaties entered into by the Indian Princes were with the Crown irrespective of the sovereignty of British India. The treaties were entered into either with the East India Company in their sovereign capacity acting on behalf of the Crown, or the Governor-General-in-Council acting on behalf of the Crown. In either case the Crown acted not in a personal capacity or in the capacity of sovereign of England but in the capacity of ruler of British India. It is with reference to their many points of contact with the Government of India and their relations with the Government of India that the treaties with the States were concluded and they were entered into not with the Crown as representing the administration of some other part of the Empire like Jamaica or Canada or even England. The treaties do not create a mere personal right or obligation, but impose obligations on the rulers for the time being of the Indian States in favour of the authorities for the time being in charge of the Government of India. Under the earlier Government of India Acts the existence of political relations between the executive Government of British India and the Indian States was contemplated and the executive Government of British India was fully empowered to transact business with the Indian States.

3. Even though the 1935 Act has attempted to distinguish the relations of the Crown with the Indian States from those of the Governor-General-in-Council dealing with British India and placed the former in charge of a separate legal entity known as the Crown Representative, the following facts are sufficient to show that the so-called relations of the Crown with Indian States comprise matters concerning relations of British India with Indian States in the vast majority of cases, and the only matters with which British India may be said to be not concerned and which may be held to fall within the prerogative of the Crown are:

- (1) the right to interfere in the event of misrule;
- (2) the right to confer honours;
- (3) the settlement of dynastic issues; and
- (4) internal powers.

The Governor-General himself is also the Crown Representative, and the Crown Representative constitutes one wing of the Central authority of India. If the theory is maintainable that all relations between Indian States and British India fall within the scope of relations of the Crown in Britain with the Indian States and have nothing to do with the authorities of British India, then there is no justification whatever for charging the entire expenditure incurred by the Crown Representative in the exercise of those functions to the revenues of British India (see the specific provision contained in section 145 of the Government of India Act). The statements made in the second and third sentences of paragraph 14 of the Cabinet Mission plan dated the 16th May 1946 are based on an entirely incorrect conception of facts.

4. It is amazing how the Cabinet Mission succeeded in getting the major Indian political parties to accept the position that, with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, all existing relations between British India and Indian States would suddenly fall within the category of the relations of the Crown in England with the Indian States, with which British India has nothing to do, and that such relations have to be regarded as severed unless continued in some form or other by mutual agreement.

5. In order to assess the consequences flowing from the doctrine that all existing relations between British India and the Indian States should be regarded as severed from the date of the withdrawal of British authority from India, a very brief account of the evolution of such relations in the past, their purpose, and scope, is necessary. As the East India Company conquered or annexed various Indian States from time to time, they chose to assume direct authority over the territories now constituting British India and to administer them directly themselves, while in other cases they preferred to continue the indigenous ruler. By various processes, the indigenous rulers were brought under the suzerainty of the Crown, i.e., by treaties, agreements or by unilateral action. The position evolved eventually was that there was a single paramount power in India which administered British India directly and which established relationship with the States, which may be shown to be in the interests of India as a whole and which were essential also from the point of view of the administration of British India. This single authority was responsible to the British Parliament. In all matters of common concern, the essential unity of India was achieved not by the conquest of the Indian States and then conversion into British India, but by binding treaties and agreements. These relations of the Crown with the Indian States comprise a large number of important matters which are really relations between the Indian States and British India, e.g., railway agreements governing construction and administration of railways, jurisdiction over railway lines in regard to securing continuity of jurisdiction for civil and criminal administration, unification of the post and telegraph system, unification of currency and coinage, surrender of the right to external relations and the right to wage war which is essential for the defence of India as a whole, etc. Is it contended that all these are matters of no concern to the succession Government of British India and that they can be terminated at the will of HMG when they withdraw their authority from British India and the Indian States? If that is the position, it can only disrupt the internal administration of both British India and the States in many spheres of vital national importance and create complete chaos. There is no justification either in constitutional law or equity or morality for such an attitude. Then again, is it suggested that by the doctrine that all relations between British India and the States are severed and that consequently the rights surrendered by the States to the Crown (whether by treaty, agreement

or by usage or by act of Paramountcy) would revert to the States [and] these States would become fully independent, with freedom to have international relations with any external authority and would indeed become entitled to get the recognition of the UNO? If these consequences are to flow, Balkanisation of India would be complete and for anyone who looks at the map of India it will be obvious that, instead of peace and prosperity for her people, disastrous internal wars and conflicts involving the entire world in a conflagration would be the result. India would become the cockpit of the world for generations to come. Indian States have had no international status and will HMG take the responsibility for sponsoring them and creating conditions which they themselves regarded as impossible when they were in charge of the Government of India?

6. In this connection it is relevant to point out that at no time in the course of discussions relating to the constitutional development of India during the past 30 years were any major modifications of the existing relations between British India and the Indian States contemplated, except on the basis of a federation or a union consisting of both British India and the Indian States. Even under the Cabinet Mission plan the existing arrangements are to continue until a new constitution is made, and the new constitution itself is to be on the basis of a union of Indian States and British India. In bringing about this union the acceding States would make new terms and forge new relations with the Union, replacing existing relations with suitable modifications. In the case of non-acceding States, if any, existing relations would have to be continued, if any, for practical reasons, unless and until the new Union Government and the Indian States agree to revise them for any valid reasons. It is true that HMG cannot, after their withdrawal, bind either the Indian States or the new Union to implement the relations existing before the withdrawal of British authority from India, and ultimately the matter will rest with the parties themselves. But this is no reason for evolving the disruptive doctrine that in all matters of mutual interest and common concern, existing relations, which are in the vast majority of cases of a contractual nature at present, will not continue as between the succession Government and the Indian States and will automatically be severed. This doctrine is untenable and mischievous and will leave a heritage of internal chaos.

7. If indeed all existing relations between British India and the Indian States are relations between the Crown in England and the Indian States with which British India has no concern, one might ask why, on the establishment of British India as an independent State, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, it is necessary for the Crown to terminate its relations with the Indian States? Those relations ought to be capable of being continued in the same manner as the relations with Greece or Iraq. HMG have, however, admitted that this would not be possible. For the real fact

of the matter is that the so-called relations between the Crown and the Indian States are matters of vital day-to-day concern between British India and the Indian States in which the Crown in the UK has no interest and which the Crown cannot continue to implement unless it is also the paramount authority of British India. Per contra, those relations must be inherited by the succession Government or Governments of British India. One might be willing to concede, however, certain limited matters in regard to which British India has no direct interest and which might be regarded as strictly comprising what is known as Paramountcy. These matters are:

- (1) the conferment of honours;
- (2) the settlement of dynastic issues;
- (3) the right of interference in the event of misrule; and
- (4) the internal powers exercised by the ruler of a State.

The new Union Government of India need not and will not claim these powers. Misrule in an Indian State and the nature of the internal government of a State are matters which may well be left to the ruler and his people.

8. The enormity of the thesis that all existing relations will be dissolved will become even more obvious if it is realised that out of the 565 and odd States only about 100 can be said to be reasonably fully powered for purposes of internal administration and there are over 350 so-called States and estates, some of which do not extend over more than a few acres. The so-called rulers of these petty States and estates do not exercise in some cases powers in excess of a third class magistrate! All the residuary jurisdictional powers are exercised directly by the Crown in India. Is it suggested that all these petty chiefs should become full-fledged sovereigns with international status?

9. Whatever may have been the doctrines propounded for some time and even adumbrated in the Cabinet Mission plan, the entire situation has altered with HMG's declaration of 20th February. The only tenable position is that the succession Government must inherit all existing rights and obligations of the Crown in relation to the Indian States. The only exceptions which can be made in the case of the States now exercising or capable of exercising full internal powers of administration are in respect of the matters mentioned in para

7. In the case of States and estates which are too small ever to be capable of assuming full powers of internal administration, even this limitation cannot apply. The petty States and estates cannot be allowed to assume an independent status, and the only course, pending a more abiding solution, would be to recognise the right of the succession Government to exercise the residuary jurisdiction and authority now exercised by the Political authority, subject to existing rights being respected. A lasting solution may have to be the merger of the petty States in the provinces or larger States, subject to fair compensation.

10. For the good government of India there are many instances in which the British Government in India have claimed many rights from the Indian

States as the successors of one or the other of the previous Paramount Power, namely the Peshwa or the Moghul Emperor.

11. To sum up, the only course which HMG are bound to follow, consistent with the past history of the relations of the Central authority in India with the Indian States, constitutional propriety and their moral obligations to the people of India so as not to leave India in a state of disruption by undoing with their own hands the work of a century and a half, is to declare that the succession Central Government or Governments inherit all their rights and obligations to the Indian States, and it is for both the sides to act in such a way as to build on these foundations a lasting edifice for the good of India and the world. This is the only honest course, even though it cannot obviously rest with HMG thereafter to enforce the mutual rights. Until a new Union is established, embracing both States and provinces, existing rights and obligations of the Crown (as the central authority in India) should be reaffirmed by the would-be succession Government, pending any revision of the position by mutual agreement as the result of the constitutional changes or otherwise.

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24 July 1947

My dear Lady Mountbatten,

On 27 July 1947, at 5-30 p.m., I am giving a tea party at the Imperial Hotel to the Rulers of States and their Representatives who would be coming to attend the conference on 25 July. I should be grateful if Your Excellency and Viscount Mountbatten with your daughter would kindly attend the function.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

Her Excellency
The Viscountess Mountbatten of Burma
The Viceroy's House
New Delhi

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The Viceroy's House
New Delhi
25 July 1947

Dear Sardar Patel,

Thank you very much for your kind invitation to the tea party which you are giving on Sunday 27th at the Imperial Hotel to the Rulers of States and their Representatives who are attending the conference. My husband, Pamela and I have very much pleasure in accepting and shall look forward to this occasion.

Yours sincerely,
Edwina Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
The State Department
Delhi

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Government House
New Delhi
29 November 1947

My dear Deputy Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter of 26 November.

I am glad you have asked my advice about arresting Lt.-Col. G. B. Williams, because this raises an important matter of principle. I am no lawyer, but the hearsay evidence of your "high placed official" is surely not to be accepted in any court of law.

Although I agree, of course, that the statements attributed to Lt.-Col. Williams, if true, are extremely mischievous, I am unaware of any law operating in peace time which would permit of the arrest of any one of any nationality for activities of this type.

Presumably in a free country people are free to give vent to their opinion however undesirable that opinion may be, and

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presumably also they are entitled to make suggestions for political alignments, even though they are as foolish as his suggestions.

I have managed to find out a little about this officer, and find that no one has a high opinion of him. He has been reported as having neither the guile nor the intelligence to be a plotter and is more likely to be a gossipier than an agitator.

If I am wrong about the legal position I shall be glad to be told what the position actually is.

In the meanwhile I am trying to trace Lt.-Col. Williams' whereabouts and would be prepared to follow the matter up unofficially if you will agree.

I shall be glad to talk this over with you next time we meet.

Yours very sincerely,
Mountbatten of Burma

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel

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New Delhi
3 December 1947

My dear Lord Mountbatten,

Thank you for your letter dated 29 November 1947 which I received on 1 December. As you know, I was out of Delhi the whole of yesterday. I could not, therefore, reply to it earlier.

2. The point of principle which you have raised is easily disposed of. The Bengal State Prisoners Regulation of 1818 as adapted gives us powers to place under personal restraint an individual for reasons of State connected with relations with acceding States. The information which I have received is not hearsay. It has been confirmed by His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur with whom I had a talk on this matter. For our purpose, therefore, there is ample information to justify action under the Regulation of 1818.

3. I might add that both Gandhiji and myself have had the privilege of having been arrested under the above-mentioned Regulation by the British Government, who, I am sure, were equally keen to ensure the maintenance of the principle to which you have referred.

4. I am afraid I am unable to dismiss as foolish the activities of this individual. We know full well how the officers of the late

Political Department plotted against our bringing in the States into an association with the Indian Dominion on democratic lines. Some of the Princes are even now foolish enough to listen to officers of the type of Lt.-Col. Williams. Extremely mischievous statements, as you have rightly called those that have been made by Lt.-Col. Williams, are, therefore, likely to result in equally mischievous consequences unless we nip this mischief in the bud. I should not of course mind at all if Lt.-Col. Williams leaves the country as soon as possible, but if he does not, I see hardly any choice but to deal with him in the manner I have suggested.

Yours sincerely,
Vallabhbhai Patel

H.E. Rear Admiral Earl Mountbatten of Burma
Government House
New Delhi

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EXTRACTS

Lucknow
18 December 1947

My dear Sardar Sahib,

I have just seen in the papers reports of the decisions reached in Orissa and Central Provinces. They are admirable. The merger of these smaller States in the provinces in and near which they happen to be situated will be cordially welcomed by the inhabitants of those States and will not only tend towards greater solidarity and consolidation but will also make the task of administration simpler [and] easier to an appreciable extent.

Trust you are keeping well in spite of the tremendous strain to which you are being put.

Yours sincerely,
G. B. Pant

The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel
Deputy Prime Minister
New Delhi

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE

MEMORANDUM BY THE VICEROY DATED 11 AUGUST 1947

His Highness [Nawab of Bhopal] came to see me at 11 o'clock this morning.

I showed His Highness my draft reply to his letters of 10 August, and he was kind enough to say that he would gladly write to put on record that I had at no time brought any form of pressure to bear on him as to his future course of action; and that he remembered that on 23 March, the day of my swearing-in, he had forecast the possibility of his abdicating in favour of his daughter at some time in the near future. He assured me, therefore, that his abdication had nothing whatever to do [with] any pressure on my part.

We agreed that I should split my letter into two parts, one part dealing with the extension he had asked for, which was awaiting confirmation from Mr. V. P. Menon, which would remain private; and the other an open letter about the abdication to which he would reply also by an open letter which would be suitable for publication should the occasion for publication arise.

He made it very clear to me that the fact that he was perfectly satisfied with my handling of the situation as I had found it, did not mean to say that he was satisfied with the situation that HMG had created for him and the Princes.

I pointed out to the Nawab that I could not send off any letters until I had seen Sardar Patel this afternoon and obtained his agreement to the 10-day extension which HH has asked for; and that with his concurrence Mr. Menon should send the letter requested. I said, however, that although hitherto Sardar Patel had never refused any single demand I had put forward in dealing with any State I had been warned only this morning by Mr. V. P. Menon that Sardar Patel had received information which would make it most unlikely that he would accede to my request for an extension.

I told HH the story that Sardar Patel had received was to the effect that HH had made contact with the young Maharaja of Jodhpur and induced him to come with him to Mr. Jinnah. That at this meeting Mr. Jinnah had offered extremely favourable terms on condition that they did not sign the Instrument of Accession, and that he had even gone so far as to turn round and say to the Maharaja of Jodhpur, "Here's my fountain pen; write your terms and I will sign it."

The story continued that after I had sent for the Maharaja of Jodhpur and had a discussion with him and had sent him to see Sardar Patel, who had

satisfied all his demands, the Maharaja had flown back to Jodhpur promising to come back that night or the following morning and to go straight to Sardar Patel to give him his decision.

The story goes that the Maharaja of Jodhpur returned on Sunday morning, but it was uncertain as to which airfield he would land at. HH of Bhopal was supposed, therefore, to have sent a staff officer in a car to each airfield—Palam and Willingdon—to make quite certain that the Maharaja should be found and taken straight to his house. He had been virtually a “prisoner” in this house and had not yet been released to keep his word and see Sardar Patel.

I pointed out to His Highness that no amount of friendship would enable me to protect either himself or his State or the new ruler of the State if the future Government of India thought that he was acting in a manner hostile to that Government by trying to induce an all-Hindu State to join Pakistan.

His Highness then offered to tell me the true version of events, which he gave me to understand on his word of honour would be the whole truth and nothing but the truth. I gladly accepted this assurance, for having been his friend and known him for years as a man of honour I had no reason to doubt that he would tell me the truth. The following is His Highness's account, dictated in his presence:

“About 6 August the Maharaja of Dholpur and one or two other rulers informed me that the Maharaja of Jodhpur wished to see me. I said I would gladly see him at my house. When the Maharaja came, he told me that he was particularly anxious to meet Mr. Jinnah as quickly as possible to know what terms Mr. Jinnah would offer.

“As Mr. Jinnah was very busy and on the eve of his departure from Delhi to Karachi and I had fortunately secured an interview with him that afternoon, I invited the Maharaja of Jodhpur to come along with me. The Maharaja therefore came back to my house and we drove together to Mr. Jinnah's house.

“At this interview His Highness asked Mr. Jinnah what terms he was offering to those States who wished to establish relationship with Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah said: ‘I have made my position quite clear; we are ready to come to treaty relations with the States and we shall give them very good terms, and we shall treat them as independent States.’ They then discussed certain details about port facilities, railway jurisdiction and the supply of food, arms and ammunition. The question of whether he should or should not sign an instrument of accession never arose.

“I returned to Bhopal and while I was there I received a telephone message from Delhi, from HH of Dholpur and other rulers, to the effect that His Highness of Jodhpur was returning to Delhi on Saturday and that he wanted to meet me. I replied that I was in any case coming back to Delhi on Saturday.

"I arrived back in Delhi on Saturday morning and received a message at the airfield from HH of Dholpur asking me to come straight to him. On arrival he told me to wait with him since the Maharaja of Jodhpur was at present in with the Viceroy and was expected to come straight back at the conclusion of the interview. The Viceroy, however, kept him longer than was expected, so that HH of Jodhpur did not have time to come to the house but sent a telephone message to say he was going direct to the airfield to fly back to Jodhpur but was returning that evening.

"Since the message did not say which airfield he was taking off from, HH of Dholpur sent two ADCs in two cars to Palam and Willingdon respectively to try and catch HH of Jodhpur before he left. It is possible that one of these two cars may have been mine because mine was waiting outside the door, but I am still unable to confirm that it was used.

"One of the ADCs caught HH of Jodhpur, who sent back a message to the effect that he was coming back that evening. I then went back to my house. His Highness of Dholpur came to see me on Saturday evening to say that HH of Jodhpur had not come back that night. On Sunday morning it appears that HH of Jodhpur got back, but I do not know what time as he never communicated with me.

"At about 1.30 p.m. I received a message from HH of Dholpur inviting me to lunch. I replied that I did not wish to have lunch but would come at 2 o'clock. On arrival I found HH of Jodhpur there, and he had brought with him his guru, whom he introduced as his philosopher and guide. This was the first time I had seen HH of Jodhpur since our meeting with Mr. Jinnah.

"HH invited us all to have discussions with his guru, and HH of Dholpur and other rulers entered into a lengthy discussion with him, but I myself only contributed a few words to the conversation.

"As I was leaving, His Highness of Jodhpur said he was coming to see me on Monday morning at 10 o'clock. This morning (Monday) he kept his promise and came at 10. He told me that his guru had been unable to make up his mind but that he himself had decided that he would not leave the Union of India. I replied that I considered His Highness was the master of his own State and I would not attempt to influence his choice one way or the other."

Viceroy's House
New Delhi

APPENDIX TWO

MAHARAJA OF BIKANER'S APPEAL TO THE PRINCES

The memorandum circulated by the Chancellor's Secretariat for the meetings of the Constitutional Advisory Committee, the Standing Committee of Princes and the General Conference of Princes and Ministers as regards the statement of the British Prime Minister in Parliament on 20 February, I regret to have to say, does not deal with all the aspects of the very important questions which the Princes have to decide and fails to bring out some of the very important issues involved which I consider it my duty to my brother Princes and in the interests of our States and people to place before them through this note which I trust will receive earnest consideration.

The memorandum has in more than one place stressed the necessity for the States to maintain a solid front at this critical juncture. It is however well known that there are two sections in the princes' ranks who hold different views. It is not only in the interests of the States as a whole but in fairness to those who do not agree with the views expressed in the memorandum that they should make their position clear and the reasons for their holding a different view. These reasons are weighty and are mentioned below.

The Cabinet Mission Plan had been originally accepted by the Congress, the Muslim League and the States; and even though the Muslim League subsequently decided not to co-operate, it is felt that if the States also took up such an attitude it would give the impression that the States were playing into the hands of a certain political party in British India. Such an impression or suspicion would be most unfortunate and I fear is widely prevalent already both amongst the people of the States and in British India.

The States had hitherto publicly taken up the position that they were not interested in the party politics of British India but were ready to help India to attain her independence and full stature in the comity of nations. Moreover, the Constituent Assembly is to all intents and purposes functioning as laid down in the Cabinet Mission Plan even though the Muslim League is not co-operating. It is felt that so long as the British Government did not scrap the Cabinet Mission Plan the States should continue to co-operate in constitution-making hoping that the Muslim League would come in sooner or later. Had the British Government categorically stated that the Constituent Assembly proceedings were ultra vires, then alone could the States have discontinued participation in the work of the Cabinet Mission Plan; but clearly that is not the intention of HMG.

On the other hand, in the debate in [British] Parliament when a categorical question was asked by Lord Simon as to whether the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly were not ultra vires, the Secretary of State in reply stated that HMG hoped that before the meetings of the sections took place as laid down in the Cabinet Mission Plan the Constituent Assembly would become fully representative and he therefore did not think it desirable to make any statement on the "hypothetical" question asked. Even in Mr. Attlee's¹ statement of 20 February the possibility of a constitution worked out by a fully representative Constituent Assembly before June 1948 was not ruled out. In the circumstances it is hoped that all parties will eventually participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly at some stage and it would not be right to proceed on any other assumption.

It is the desire and hope of all that the parties concerned, including the States, should jointly frame a common constitution. The Muslim League is standing out. By the States doing likewise, does it improve the position or bring nearer the consummation of a fully representative Constituent Assembly functioning? The answer is obvious. Such a step on the part of the States would not only be putting it off but probably rendering impossible such a consummation.

Even if the Muslim League ultimately decided not to participate in constitution-making it is beyond question in the interests of the States as a whole, interspersed as they are with territories in British India, that by June 1948 a strong central government should be created which can take over power. The only safe policy for the States, therefore, is to work fully with the stabilising elements in British India to create a centre at least for as large a section of India as possible to start with, leaving it open for any other part to come in at a later time, which would safeguard both the States and British India in the vacuum that would be created by the withdrawal of the British Government and which would maintain peace, order and good government and prevent civil strife. If the States do not help in the formation of such a stable and strong central authority, the inevitable result will be the weakening of the stable elements in British India working towards a settlement and the consequent increase in the power and prestige of the left wing. If the latter comes into power the position of the States can well be imagined.

It must be the policy of the States to press for the necessary safeguards which they consider essential in the interests of the Rulers and their people and States, but it is felt that this can best be done by participating in the work of the Constituent Assembly and especially by sending States' representatives to the various important sub-committees appointed by it, thus ensuring

¹ Clement Richard Attlee: Deputy Prime Minister and Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs in Churchill Cabinet in Second World War; Prime Minister of Britain, 1945-51

that their interests are duly safeguarded in the Constitution that is being framed, in which they will have a voice from the very start. It is strongly felt that by declining to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly the States may not succeed in securing their essential safeguards, but that, if anything, they may find that in their absence, as has happened, various decisions have already been reached which it will be difficult to get altered later on.

The united front that is required to be put up by the States is therefore not by adopting a policy of "wait and see" but by fully co-operating with the Constituent Assembly, with all the benefits that will accrue from such a step.

It is not sufficient for anyone from the States merely to say, as has been done, that it is not possible for them to continue to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly until more details are available of the final picture. This may sound reasonable enough on the face of it, but it has to be examined from a different angle and other important factors have to be taken into consideration. The States may for a time take the stand of "wait and see," but the vital question is as to what effect such a step will have both on their own people and upon British India. It is a fact which brooks no argument that it is essential for the Rulers to carry their own people with them and nothing must be done which would impair their loyalty and support. It is therefore most strongly felt that a decisive step taken now with a broad vision and in the larger interests of India is not only in the interests of the States themselves but becomes imperative. Neither can the Princes afford to lose the support of their people, nor can they ignore the resultant adverse repercussions in British India.

The Princes have in the past on more than one occasion expressed their readiness to help India to attain her full stature, and in January 1946 the Chamber of Princes passed the following formal resolution:

"The Chamber of Princes desire to reiterate that the Indian States fully share the general desire in the country for the immediate attainment by India of her full stature, and will make every possible contribution towards the settlement of the Indian constitutional problem."

British India is keenly watching the attitude of the States, but it is perhaps not sufficiently appreciated, or I fear some quarters deliberately choose to ignore the fact, that the people of the States are equally keenly watching the attitude of the Princes. Let there be no mistake or illusion about this. When India is on the verge of attaining her independence, and a constitution is being worked out, is a policy of "wait and see," adopted by any section of the Princes, I respectfully ask, in conformity with their past public declarations to help India to attain her independence and full stature? If the Princes do not come forward and act in the larger interests of India but

are to stand out now, are they not, instead of helping her advance, actually retarding it? How will they then be judged by the public of India, by the people of our States and by the world?

There is one other important aspect to which I must refer. The interests of the people of the States obviously lie in joining hands with British India in establishing a strong centre, and they are keenly alive to that necessity. If the Princes were to help in attaining that object then the interests of the people and the Princes would continue to remain identical. But if for any reason the Princes were to decide otherwise they would be putting themselves in opposition to the very strong wishes and interests of their people. Such a state of affairs will not only be deplorable but disastrous in the interests of the ruling dynasties as it will unnecessarily alienate the loyalty and support of the people.

Amongst the people of the Indian States there has of late been a rapid and general awakening in regard to political issues. Boundaries may separate the States from the rest of India, but the wave of nationalism which has come about throughout India has not failed to penetrate into our States and when it comes to a general all-India issue (as undoubtedly is the question of the States' participation in the Constituent Assembly) the people of the States feel equally in regard to their own mother country—India—as we the Princes should ourselves, as true, patriotic and worthy sons of India. We would be straining their inherent and strong loyalty to us, if at this stage we were to take a step which would undoubtedly be considered unpatriotic by our people also.

Furthermore, a policy of "wait and see" will give a loophole to interested parties to make mischief in every possible way. As it is, it is amply clear that such a policy is not only being definitely and seriously mistaken and misunderstood everywhere, but it is openly being said that the Princes in their heart of hearts do not wish to co-operate in the work of framing a constitution. This position is calculated prejudicially to affect the negotiations which the States will have to conduct in the future to safeguard their essential rights.

There seems to be a school of thought among the States which holds that they need not take part in the Constituent Assembly at all but can reach political agreements with the Union or Central Government when it is established. In regard to this point of view it is felt that by actively participating in the formative stage of constitution-making the States will have a direct voice and will be partners and equals in the future union or central authority, without at the same time committing themselves to joining that constitution if it is not just and fair in regard to them. If they do not enter the Constituent Assembly and later enter into political agreements with the central authority the position of those States will substantially be the same as at present in

regard to the existing Government of India. Moreover, the States will have to agree to the terms laid down by such central authority and that Government is bound to have inevitably a superior controlling and supervising authority over units which enter into political arrangements with them. It is also felt that the conditions which will govern such agreements, after the central authority is once established, cannot be favourable to the States to the same extent as now when the States will have their due voice in framing the Constitution and in providing the necessary safeguards in the Constitution itself, whereas at the present stage we will be dealing with a constitution that will not have come into being and therefore can be shaped in a manner suitable to all the parties.

In any case as the Constituent Assembly is a voluntary body whose decisions will not be binding on the States until they are ratified by each State, even after full participation in the work of the Constituent Assembly, it is open to any State to enter the union that may be established as one of the units or to stand out and reach political agreements with the Union Government. Perhaps this point has not sufficiently been borne in mind or appreciated.

The crux of the whole question, however, is whether the advantages if any that may be claimed in a policy of "wait and see" are firstly important or real and secondly whether they are not totally outweighed by those resulting from one of co-operation, as brought out in this appeal.

It is now for the Princes to judge whether at the present crucial juncture they can afford to follow a policy of "wait and see," which I say with great reluctance can only be described as suicidal, and as forfeiting the loyalty and support of their own people. It also goes without saying that they can ill afford to antagonise British India unnecessarily without gaining any real advantage.

I desire to stress that the Princes have a golden opportunity to play a noble and decisive part in India's advance towards independence and thus to show to our brethren and to the world that we as of old do not go back on our word. Such an opportunity may never come again, and we may ever repent not having taken advantage of it. A belated declaration of our readiness to co-operate with the Constituent Assembly will lose all its spontaneity and appeal. Our brethren in the rest of India are ready to receive us with open arms. Let the Princes of India rise to the occasion, to be hailed as co-architects of the structure of India's independence and greatness. I therefore most emphatically and with all the earnestness at my command urge that the Princes and Ministers, who are present in Bombay at the General Conference, should take a bold and statesmanlike step and decide to continue to co-operate in framing a constitution by entering the Constituent Assembly at the earliest possible stage.

I would take this opportunity of referring to yet another important matter. The Princes are not only being misunderstood by their people and in British India in regard to their hesitant and "wait and see" policy towards Indian constitutional problems but are equally seriously being misunderstood in all quarters in regard to their policy about constitutional reforms in their States. In January 1946 the Chancellor on behalf of all the States made a statement in the Chamber of Princes from which I quote the following extract:

"The object is to set up forthwith constitutions in which the sovereign powers of the Ruler are exercised through regular constitutional channels without in any way affecting or impairing the continuance of the reigning dynasty in and the integrity of each State. There shall be popular institutions with elected majorities to ensure close and effective association of the people with the governance of the States."

At that time this declaration was well received generally in British India and had a very good effect. Since then, on 10 June 1946 the Standing Committee of Princes issued a statement accepting the Cabinet Mission Plan, and stated:

"The Standing Committee wish to emphasise the necessity for the States, which have not done so, to declare immediately their decision to follow the lines of internal reforms laid down in the declaration made by the Chancellor at the last session of the Chamber of Princes and to take necessary steps to implement that decision within 12 months."

In this connection I would also draw attention to the stenographic record of my speech at the meeting of the Constitutional Advisory Committee in Bombay on 8 June 1946 in regard to constitutional reforms in our States, which has already been circulated.

Apart from most of the larger States and some other States which have made clear declarations in regard to constitutional reforms, the majority of the States, I fear, have so far not moved in the matter. Again with all the emphasis at my command I appeal to all my brother Princes to seriously take into consideration this all-important question and make a specific and categorical announcement in that regard without any further delay so as to leave no doubt whether in the minds of our own people or those in British India. India is rapidly advancing towards independence; a constitution is being framed. Is it conceivable or possible that the States which are so interspersed with the rest of India can for any length of time lag behind? Above all, can we afford any longer to delay a specific declaration that:

- (a) our ultimate aim is to establish a form of Government that would be responsible to the people, and
- (b) it will definitely be established within a specified period according to the conditions prevailing in each State?

By still continuing to hesitate to make a clear declaration on these important points the Princes are rapidly and unnecessarily losing the loyalty and support of their people. They are accused of making promises but not wishing to abide by them; in fact, our very word is doubted as to whether or not we intend even to associate our people to the extent declared. Let the Princes, I repeat, rise to the occasion in this regard also; much valuable time has already been lost, and can we afford to lose any more?

I am not advocating that any form of responsible government be immediately established, for no one realises better than myself that the people of most States are not ready for that step to be taken at once. Nor am I advocating that we should slavishly follow any Western or other pattern of government. Local conditions have to be taken into account, but the ultimate form of government must essentially be one that will be responsible to the people.

If a declaration to join the Constituent Assembly and an announcement in regard to constitutional reforms, as suggested above, are made by the majority of the Princes present in Bombay just now, I feel that the whole position can still be magically transformed. It will bring goodwill all round and it will make quite clear to everyone that the Indian Princes are not only working for the good of their States and for their mother country but are above all patriotic and worthy sons of India.

Bombay

1 April 1947

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER'S STATEMENT TO
THE PRESS DATED 24 APRIL 1947

I do not wish to enter into a controversy with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan as regards his statement which appeared in the papers but with regard to his reference to the States "which have succumbed to the Congress pressure" to join the Constituent Assembly, I can say that so far as Bikaner State is concerned and also the other States which have decided to participate in the work of the Constituent Assembly we decided to do so certainly not due to any pressure from any one much less the Congress, but because we considered it to be in our own best interests as well as in the greater interests of India. Apart from this we were prompted entirely by motives of patriotism towards our mother country to do all we could to assist her at this critical moment when far-reaching decisions have to be promptly taken affecting both British India and the States. Moreover the machinery provided under the Cabinet Mission Plan had been accepted by the States from the very beginning and they had offered their co-operation and support in the work of the Constituent Assembly.

2. I may also mention that it is not correct to say that only a "handful" of Indian States have decided to join the Constituent Assembly. The States which have decided to do so represent some of the most important States in India and have a population of not less than 30 million out of 93 million.

3. Speaking from first-hand knowledge, I can say that—whether in contacts with Rulers or with States representatives in the sub-committees appointed by the Constituent Assembly—we have not been faced with any hostility or coercion but have found a spirit of complete friendliness and understanding, sympathy and fairplay as befitting true Indians working together as brothers for a common goal.

4. I am, therefore, sorry that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan should have chosen to champion our cause without knowing our true feelings and I hope that the remaining States will not be misled by the advice given to await the outcome of the present talks between the Indian political parties but will decide to join the Constituent Assembly straightaway and thus help our mother country to attain her freedom as the States have publicly declared it to be their intention to do and avoid being called hostile to India's real interests or otherwise be misunderstood as being unpatriotic.

APPENDIX THREE

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE DECCAN STATES PEOPLES' DELEGATION REGARDING THE PROPOSED DECCAN STATES UNION

PREFACE

A meeting of the representatives of the Deccan States peoples was held under the presidentship of Shri H. K. Veeranna Gowdh, Mysore Congress, at Chitaldurg, on 16 November 1947, and passed, among others, a resolution deciding to take immediate steps to put forth the peoples' view and prevent a false impression being created in the minds of the leaders and the public by the Princes and their henchmen regarding the scheme of the Deccan States Union. The meeting constituted a delegation under the leadership of Shri H. K. Veeranna Gowdh and authorised the same to take all necessary steps in this direction.

The delegation consists of
 H. K. Veeranna Gowdh, Mysore Congress, Bangalore, Leader
 B. D. Thatti, Lakshmeswar, Miraj (Sr.)
 M. F. Dabali, Sirahatti, Sangli
 L. A. Patil, Ramadurg
 Ujjangowda, Gudgeri, Miraj (Jr.)
 G. R. Bapure, Rabkavi, Sangli
 I. G. Hiregowder, Gudgeri, Miraj (Jr.) and
 A. G. Doddameti, MLA, Bombay

The delegation submits this memorandum in the hope that the peoples' opposition to the proposed Union of the eight princes of the Deccan States stands justified in view of the facts laid bare therein.

H. K. Veeranna Gowdh

New Delhi
December 1947

INTRODUCTION

Eight Rulers, out of the 18 Deccan States, have entered into a covenant among themselves with the object of "forming a single State comprising the territories of our respective States with a unitary Government" and for that purpose they propose "to abolish the separate boundaries of the said individual States" and "to pool our individual rights, privileges, authorities and share them in common amongst ourselves and to establish a common executive, common legislature, common judiciary and common customs boundaries."

This scheme is opposed by the people of the concerned States as the constitution-making body which is proposed to be set up to draw up a constitution for the State is not sovereign at all, as it can function only "subject to the provisions of the covenant." The provisions of the covenant primarily aim at perpetuating the autocratic powers of the princes and to the detriment of the rights and interests of the people.

The princes and their agents are making frantic efforts to create public opinion in favour of their scheme by misrepresenting to the national leaders that the scheme contains all the elements of democracy and that the peoples' sovereignty is accepted under it.

This memorandum is submitted with a view to expose the hollowness of the scheme, disabuse the minds of the public and the leaders of any wrong impressions that might have been created and to convince them that not only is the scheme futile and impracticable but also that the people of the States are quite against it.

GEOGRAPHY OF THE STATES

The Deccan States are scattered in the six districts of Bombay province, viz. Belgaum, Dharwar, Bijapur, Sholapur and Satara and Poona. Of these six districts four are in Karnataka and two in Maharashtra. Not only are these 18 States not contiguous but also each one of them is not a contiguous area even by itself, inasmuch as they form little islands in an area, in the Bombay province, the distance from north to south being nearly 400 miles and from east to west about 200 miles. These islands often comprise one or two villages only. Some of these villages in the States forming the Union

are hundreds of miles apart. The total area of the 18 States is only about 11,000 square miles with a population of not more than 28,00,000 and a revenue of Rs. 1,60,00,000 only.

The eight States which have formed themselves into a Union are only 3,833 sq. miles in area with a population of not more than nine lakhs and a revenue of about Rs. 59 lakhs and they consist of as many as 70 scattered bits, big and small. Such a Union will not be even an average district either in population or revenue or resources. Thus, with an overall extra permanent liability of the privy purse amounts payable to the eight Princes and the expenditure of the Raj Pramukh the Union will not have enough revenue left for nation-building activities. Not only are they not geographically contiguous, but linguistically and culturally they formed two distinct areas in as much as the northern part is in Maharashtra and the southern part in Karnataka.

AISPC AND GROUPING OF STATES

It is relevant at this stage to draw attention to the resolutions regarding the grouping of States passed by the All India States Peoples' Conference held at Ludhiana (1939) and at Udaipur (1946) and also that of the Standing Committee of the AISPC held in Delhi in June 1946. While the Ludhiana resolution laid down that the States having a revenue of Rs. 50 lakhs or a population of 20 lakhs might be maintained as autonomous units along with the provinces, the Udaipur resolution considered it necessary that in the interests of efficient administration and maintenance of modern standards of social and economic welfare, only States or groups of States with a population of 50 lakhs and a revenue of Rs. 3 crores and above should be given the status of a unit in free federal India. In furtherance of the Udaipur resolution, the Standing Committee at Delhi passed a resolution on smaller States, requesting all regional councils to recommend schemes for the formation of units keeping in view "the linguistic and cultural basis" as also geographical contiguity. The Standing Committee in the same resolution pointed out that "most of the smaller States would inevitably be absorbed in large units of the federation which generally should be the neighbouring provinces." It also opined that "it may be feasible and desirable in certain cases to group together a number of small States which are contiguous in order to form federal units."

Judged from the above vital standards, the eight States, which propose to form a Union, lack all these essentials, namely, geographical contiguity, linguistic and cultural homogeneity and sufficiency of population and revenue and therefore are not entitled to form themselves into a Union worth the name.

PRINCES' ATTEMPT AT UNION

Ever since the question of Indian Federation began to engage the attention of the public mind in India, the leaders have been expressing themselves

in favour of smaller States grouping together in order to be sizable units of the Indian Federation. Some of the Deccan States Princes having eagerly snatched at this idea are making every effort to perpetuate their hierarchy by entering into a Union and to parade before the world as patriotic and enlightened rulers, in spite of the fact that the Union under contemplation does not conform to any of the requirements laid down in the AISPC resolutions.

PRINCES' APPROACH TO LEADERS

In order to get support for their plan some of the princes of the Deccan States approached Mahatma Gandhi both at Panchgani and at Poona with Shri Shankerrao Deo and solicited his blessings. Bapuji [Mahatma Gandhi] made it clear to them that the Rajas should consider themselves to be the trustees and servants of their people and told them that they could think of a Union only with the consent and co-operation of the people. He further pointed out that had they consulted their people the scheme would have been materially different from the one they had placed before him. He gave out as his opinion that the people should have control over the privy purse of the rulers also.

Among the questions put to Bapuji during the interview two are significant. One was that unless a Union was formed, none of the individual States would be able to survive. What should the princes do? The other question was that without going through the formality of a constitution committee they wanted to enter into a Union as they were anxious to give swaraj to their people. What was Bapuji's opinion? Bapuji's replies to both the questions are noteworthy. To the first question he said that if they became a part of the people, then only they could exist. Bapuji's reaction to the second question was immediate. He told them the step they contemplated was a wrong one. If they had the interests of their people at heart they should immediately grant them full freedom. In the meanwhile a constitution could also be evolved. Finally, Bapuji asked them to give up the idea of the Union and leave it to a constitution-making body. He advised them to approach Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, President of the AISPC, and was sure that Pandit Nehru would consult the people and would guide the princes in the most proper manner.

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER

The Raja of Phaltan addressed a letter to Pandit Nehru in August 1946 and sought his advice. Panditji in his reply in the early part of September 1946 to the Raja Sahib said that "the answer to the question of forming a Union of the Deccan States must inevitably depend upon the popular reaction to the proposal. At the same time it has to be seen whether such a Union was going to be an organic one or just an administrative putting to-

gether of various States. We have first of all to examine the whole background, geographical, linguistic etc. and then finally comes the most important aspect of the question, i.e. the desire of the people concerned." He warned the Raja Sahib that "any step taken, even a right step, without the consultation and concurrence of the people is likely to lead to their opposition and this might defeat any scheme." He also said in that letter that he understood "that there is a considerable amount of opposition on behalf of the Praja Mandals and peoples' organisations in some of the Deccan States to the proposal for the Union." He admitted that "some of the arguments advanced seem to have force. For instance, the Deccan States are rather spread out, are not contiguous, and areas are separated from one another with islands here and there. This obviously would come in the way of administrative as well as economic development." He further wanted to know how the Rajas would "get the peoples' representatives to consider any such scheme and give their decisions." He believed that Gandhiji's advice given to the Rajas, viz., "the first step to be taken was for responsible government to be given by each State" was the proper approach. He saw no reason why there should be any delay to give responsible government as the decision could be taken immediately. Panditji also suggested that the contemplated Constituent Assembly should be convened on as wide a basis as possible and warned that "any limitations placed in the way of the Constituent Assembly will be highly undesirable and will simply irritate the people concerned."

PEOPLE'S REACTION

(a) Shri Shikare's Pamphlet

The opposition to the scheme of the Union on behalf of the people adverted to in Panditji's letter is being unequivocally expressed from the very beginning. As long back as May 1946, Shri B. V. Shikare, the then Secretary of the Deccan States Peoples' Conference and a member of the Standing Committee of the AISPC, got a memorandum prepared by Shri. H. G. Abhayanker, wherein the futility of the proposed Deccan States Union has been exposed and a very strong plea made out for merger of these States into the adjoining Indian province. In his preface to the said memorandum Shri Shikare states that "the memorandum with the attached map clearly sets out the inherent weakness of any scheme of Union of the the Deccan States on the basis of the present boundaries. The memorandum conclusively proves that in a merger with British India lies the hope for a full statured economic and political development of the people of the Deccan States."

What Shri Shikare stated on the Union proposed for the 18 States applies with greater force to the scheme now proposed for only eight of them. Yet, it is strange that Shri Shikare is actively supporting the present scheme and is carrying on insistent propaganda in its favour.

(b) Rabkavi Conference

S.C.-V-34

Apart from Shri Shikare's publication the people of these States have been opposing this scheme in the Press and on the platforms. In October 1946, a conference of the All Karnataka States Peoples was held at Rabkavi under the presidentship of Shri B. N. Gupta, Secretary of the Congress Party in the Mysore Representative Assembly. Among others the following resolution relating to the Deccan States Union was passed:

"This conference expresses its unequivocal disapproval of this scheme of forming a Union of some Deccan States recently contemplated at Poona, as the scheme is neither based on popular opinion nor does it in any way further the interests of the Karnataka States peoples. The proposed Union of the Deccan States has no rational basis whatsoever as this would, if carried into effect, prove a most unnatural thing by giving birth to hybrid administrative units harmful both to Maharashtra and Karnataka cultures. The cherished object of the conference is that all portions of these States should come under a united Karnataka province and it fervently requests the Durbars of such of the States that have not as yet established responsible governments to do so immediately, as responsible government alone can most effectively facilitate the goal of united Karnataka being realised."

(c) Sangli Convention

Again in December 1946 a convention of the representatives of the people consisting of the members of the legislatures of the States, of the Regional Council of the AISPC, of working committees of Praja Mandals, non-official ministers of some of the States, members of the Constituent Assembly of India for Karnataka and Maharashtra, of Sahitya Parishads of the two areas and other important workers was held at Sangli under the presidentship of Shri S. Nijalingappa, President, Karnataka PCC and a member of the Constituent Assembly. Shri Shankerrao Deo who was present at the convention explained at length the importance and the implications of the scheme. Discussion lasted for six hours. An overwhelming majority of those present was opposed to the scheme and at the special request of Shri Deo the matter was not disposed of that day and further time was given for considering the same.

(d) Delhi Talks

Realising that popular opinion was against the formation of the Union an attempt was made on behalf of the princes to ascertain the reaction of some of the Congress leaders then at Delhi and Rao Bahadur K. V. Godbole, representative of the princes, arranged for a meeting of Shri Shankerrao Deo, S. Nijalingappa, R. R. Diwakar and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya in New Delhi in January 1947. Two sittings of this meeting were held and after a lengthy discussion the members present agreed upon 10 points which were considered to be fundamental. It was also agreed that a convention of the representatives of the people, as the one that was convened at Sangli in

December 1946, should be held to consider the proposals. A declaration of the fundamentals by the rulers might also be made after such a convention was held. Unfortunately no such convention was held nor did the princes adhere to the fundamentals agreed upon between their representatives and the leaders mentioned above. But on the other hand by passing the people's opinion, eight of the eleven princes that participated in the talks have entered into a covenant among themselves in October 1947.

(e) Miraj Convention

Seeing that the princes made no attempt to ascertain the wishes of their people, but only focussed all their influence and resources at securing the goodwill of national leaders for their scheme, there was insistent demand by the people that a representative gathering should be convened to consider the scheme. In deference to this demand such a conference was held under the auspices of the Regional Council at Miraj under the presidentship of Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya on 11 October 1947. As there was great opposition to the scheme and to the draft covenant which the people were not in a mood to consider, Dr. Pattabhi dissolved the meeting abruptly.

(f) Lakshmeswar Meeting

The very next day, i.e. on 12-10-47, a conference of the representatives of the people was held at Lakshmeswar under the presidentship of Shri B. N. Munavalli, member of the Constituent Assembly of India from the Deccan States (elected) and passed a resolution to the effect that the scheme was unacceptable as it was not in the interests of the people and warned the princes against any attempt to force it upon the people. By another resolution the conference set up a Council of Action to find ways and means of opposing this undemocratic attempt on the part of the princes.

(g) Another Meeting at Miraj

Fearing that the people's opposition was gathering strength the princes wanted to bring into being the Union anyhow and caused a meeting to be hastily convened by wires sent on 29-10-47, the meeting itself being fixed for the 31st, in a private place at Miraj. At the meeting which was presided over by Shri B. V. Shikare objections were raised by members that the scheme as disclosed in the covenant was acceptable. The president ruled that the meeting was called not to consider the merits of the covenant but to set up a Parliamentary Board for the election of members to the Constituent Assembly and he flatly told that those who opposed the scheme as such had no place there. Some members had, therefore, to walk out in protest.

(h) Council of Action

A meeting of the Council of Action which was set up by the Lakshmeswar conference was held on 29 October 1947 and appealed to the people to observe 2 November 1947 as a "day of protest to this scheme". Hundreds

of meetings were held all over the States and resolutions were passed opposing the scheme.

(i) Gudgeri Meeting

A Praja Parishad meeting held at Gudgeri on 4-11-47 passed a resolution opposing the princes' move and declared that satyagraha should be offered to resist the same. In response to the call some members of the Legislatures of the States, including a minister of Miraj (Jr.) State, have resigned their seats.

From the above it is clear that the people have opposed the scheme all along and are ready to resist it at all costs.

PART II

THE COVENANT

Having traced the history of the attempts made by the princes to form the Union in the teeth of opposition of the people of the States and having also described how geographically, linguistically and culturally the Union is impracticable and against the interests of the people, an attempt is made here to examine the covenant itself in so far as it affects the rights and interests of the people and the administrative and economic defects inherent in it.

At the outset it must be made clear that the covenant is purely an agreement among the princes themselves and the people have had nothing to do with it either as parties or as consultants.

(1) Constituent Assembly not Sovereign

While the preamble to the covenant professes to acknowledge the principle that "all powers and authority emanate from the people" and that they "propose to entrust to a sovereign constitution-making body of the said people the drawing up of a constitution." Article I(2) of the covenant effectively limits this sovereignty when it provides that "subject to this covenant all powers shall emanate from the people." This sovereignty is further limited by Article III which declares that this covenant shall be the supreme law of the State.

(2) Transfer of Allegiance

Article VII creates a fresh ruling body called the Rajamandal which under clauses 7(2) and 15 will control every action of the Raj Pramukh who is to act as their sole representative.

Further this provision is directly in contradiction with Article IX clause 1, according to which "the Mantri Mandal is to aid and advise the Raj Pramukh in the exercise of his function." These contradictory provisions will certainly lead to constant conflicts in the normal administration of the State.

Out of this arises an important question whether the princes by an agreement among themselves can bring under their joint authority, however constitutionally limited, people of the several States who now owe allegiance to their respective individual rulers and whether this transfer of allegiance to a new body can be done without the consent of the people concerned.

Proviso 1 to Article V protects "the rights of any Raja as a trustee in relation to the charitable and religious trusts, set out against his name in Schedule II." It is noteworthy that Schedule II in the covenant is conveniently left blank which becomes significant when it is realised that in all these States there are a great many of temples and charitable trusts with large annual revenues.

Proviso 2 which refers to publication of balance sheets in relation to these trusts lays down that "the accounts shall be audited by a certified auditor" and not the Auditor-General.

(3) Raj Pramukh a Dictator

Article VIII which enumerates the powers and functions of the Raj Pramukh makes him the virtual dictator of the State as is clear from clauses 1 and 2. Under clause 1(10) the Raj Pramukh appoints the judges of the High Court who are to interpret not only the constitution and all the laws of the State but also the constitution of the Federation of India! Under clause 11, the Raj Pramukh appoints the members of the Judiciary Commission, on the recommendation of which body the judges of the High Court under Article XIII clause 3 will have to be appointed. It is clear thus that both the Judiciary Commission and the High Court become subservient to him and the Rajamandal, without any reference to the Mantri Mandal and as such the independence of the judiciary is impaired. Clauses 12 and 14 under Article VIII give the Raj Pramukh wide powers over the finances of the State, as he is to appoint the Judiciary Commission, Public Service Commission, the Auditor-General and also fix the limits of allowances and expenditure of the Raj Pramukh and the member of the Rajamandal. The most objectionable feature in this is that the Auditor-General is to be appointed "in accordance with the rules to be framed by the Rajamandal in that behalf" and not in consultation with the Mantri Mandal or the Chief Minister.

Though under Article XIV clause (2) "the constitution-making body shall frame a constitution for the State providing for a Government responsible to the legislature" the members of the Mantri Mandal, under Article IX "will be chosen and summoned by the Raj Pramukh and shall hold office during his pleasure." It is regrettable to note that nowhere in the covenant is there a provision that conventions of democratic constitutions will be respected.

Article XI gives the Raj Pramukh great autocratic powers on the plea of emergency without reference to the ministry and gives room for committing any atrocity without responsibility being attached.

PRIVY PURSE AMOUNTS

Article XII read with Schedule III provides for the privy purse amounts, properties and emoluments of the princes. It is claimed that the privy purse amounts were determined by an impartial Board of Arbitration consisting of the trusted and venerated leaders of the people and no rulers' representatives were appointed on the Board. It is interesting to note that the Deccan States' Regional Council which with the rulers appointed the Board of Arbitration consisted of the representatives of all the 18 States, of which only eight have formed themselves into a Union. Elections to this Regional Council, it is complained, have been irregular and unfair. Even now some election petitions are pending before the Election Tribunal. In fact it is not known either to the public or to the leaders of these States how, where and when the rulers and the Regional Council met to decide on the appointment of the Arbitration Board. It is to be said with regret that the Board of Arbitration did not hear the peoples' views before they came to their decisions. Apart from this, the award of the Board which is so enthusiastically incorporated in the covenant is not fair in so far as it does not relate to the actual financial position of the State. The basis for fixing the privy purse amounts of the various princes has been the revenue receipts for the 3 peak years of inflation namely 1944-45 to 1946-47. In doing so, the income derived from the vast private properties of each of these rulers is—as should have been done—not taken into consideration at all. Here again, Schedule IV under Article XII omits to mention the lists of private properties and emoluments of the rulers. The award is that the privy purse amounts are “unalterable in future for any reason whatsoever and that the privy purse payable to the ruler of any ratifying State shall not be less than Rs. 15,000 per annum.” It is interesting to note that some rulers, such as for instance Aundh and Ramdurg are now getting very much less than what they are to get under the award. Looked at financially, this scheme is an attempt on the part of the princes to form a centralised capitalistic concern by joining together the several individual small concerns, the sole aim and object being the comfort and happiness of the princes at the cost of the poor people of the States under a democratic garb with political sanctions behind it.

(4) Covenant—The Real Constitution

Article XIV clauses 2 and 3 make it incumbent on the constitution-making body to frame a constitution subject to the covenant. For the Indian Union, only the procedure to create the Constituent Assembly was laid down leaving the actual framing of the constitution to the Assembly itself without any limitations placed upon it. In Mysore even the procedure for setting up the constituent assembly was left to the popular ministry.

But in the case of the Deccan States the Constituent Assembly was made a creature of the covenant bound hand and foot and to do its biddings. It

is a mockery to call this a sovereign constitution-making body. The covenant is in itself a complete constitution and what is left over for the so-called sovereign body is to frame only bye-laws. It has only to dot the "i"s and dash the "t"s.

(5) Secession Impracticable

Article XX refers to the secession of linguistic areas wherein it is stated "the constitution of the United Deccan States shall contain a provision authorising its government to allow the different linguistic areas in the State to severally exercise an opinion of joining the neighbouring linguistic province as and when formed." That it is not so allowed and the peoples' opinion can be effectively countered will be evident from a subsequent clause in the same article which lays down that "Before allowing these areas to exercise such option the government shall ascertain in the way which they deem most effective the wishes of the people of the respective areas on the basis of a two-thirds majority" and that "such secession will only take effect if the interests (1) of the Rajamandal, (2) of its individual members, and (3) of the State and its services are adequately safeguarded and guaranteed both by the new province and also by the United Deccan State." Under Article XXI clause 4 it is laid down that "in order to ensure administrative and linguistic convenience there shall be two administrative divisions in the territory of the State, one being of predominantly Kanarese-speaking people and the other predominantly Marathi-speaking people." But it is left conveniently vague as to how these two administrative divisions are to be created and worked in practice. This formation of artificial unions of areas of different languages with a promise to allow them to opt out in future, is unnecessary and unwise.

It is thus clear from the few of the salient points noted above that such a covenant, so reactionary in its nature, can never be acceptable to the people.

CONCLUSION

The rulers who are the authors of this covenant profess to have the interests of their people at heart. If that is so, the only way open to them is, as Bapuji has suggested to them, to grant immediate responsible government in their respective States, take the people into their confidence and abide by the decision of the people expressed by means of a referendum or through newly elected legislatures on adult franchise whether they should enter into a Union or merge in the adjoining districts of the linguistic areas of Bombay province. Any scheme conceived contrary to the interests and without the concurrence of the people is bound to fail, as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has rightly pointed out.

H. K. Veeranna Gowdh

APPENDIX FOUR
STATES' AUTONOMY WILL BE RESPECTED
SARDAR PATEL'S ASSURANCE

New Delhi
5 July 1947

In a statement appealing to those Indian States which have not yet joined the Constituent Assembly to do so, Sardar Patel recalls the announcement made some days back that the Government of India had decided to set up a department to conduct their relation with the States in matters of common concern. Sardar Patel says this department has come into being today and the States have been informed to this effect. "On this important occasion, I have a few words to say to the Rulers of Indian States among whom I am happy to count many as my personal friends.

"It is the lesson of history that it was owing to the country's politically fragmental condition and our inability to take a united stand that India succumbed to successive waves of invaders. Our mutual conflicts and internecine quarrels and jealousies have in the past been the cause of our downfall and our falling victims to foreign domination a number of times. We cannot afford to fall into those errors or traps again. We are on the threshold of independence. It is true that we have not been able to preserve the unity of the country entirely unimpaired in the final stage. To the bitter disappointment and sorrow of many of us, some parts have chosen to go out of India and to set up their own Government. But there can be no question that despite this separation a fundamental homogeneity of culture and sentiment, reinforced by the compulsive logic of mutual interest would continue to govern us. Much more so would this be the case with that vast majority of States which, owing to their geographical contiguity and indissoluble ties, economic, cultural and political, must continue to maintain relations of mutual friendship and co-operation with the rest of India. The safety and preservation of these States, as well as of India, demand unity and mutual co-operation between its different parts.

"When the British established their rule in India, they evolved the doctrine of Paramountcy which established the supremacy of British interests. That doctrine has remained undefined to this day, but in its exercise there has undoubtedly been more of subordination than co-operation. Outside the field of Paramountcy there has been a very wide scope in which relations between British India and the States have been regulated by enlightened mutual interest. Now that British rule is ending, the demand has been made that the States

should regain their independence. In so far as Paramountcy embodied the submission of States to a foreign will, I have every sympathy with this demand. But I do not think it can be their desire to utilise this freedom from domination in a manner which is injurious to the common interest of India or which militates against the ultimate Paramountcy of popular interests and welfare or which might result in the abandonment of that mutually useful relationship that has developed between British India and Indian States during the last century. This has been amply demonstrated by the fact that a great majority of Indian States have already come into the Constituent Assembly. To those who have not done so, I appeal that they should join now. The States have already accepted the basic principle that for defence, foreign affairs and communications they would come into the Indian Union. We ask no more of them than accession of these three subjects in which the common interests of the country are involved. In other matters we would scrupulously respect their autonomous existence.

"This country, with its institutions, is the proud heritage of the people who inhabit it. It is an accident that some live in the States and some in British India, but all alike partake of its culture and character. We are all knit together by bonds of blood and feeling no less than of self-interest. None can segregate us into segments; no impassable barriers can be set up between us. I suggest that it is, therefore, better for us to make laws sitting together as friends than to make treaties as aliens. I invite my friends, the Rulers of States and their people to the councils of the Constituent Assembly in this spirit of friendliness and co-operation in a joint endeavour, inspired by common allegiance to our motherland for the common good of us all.

"There appears a great deal of misunderstanding about the attitude of the Congress towards the States. I should like to make it clear that it is not the desire of the Congress to interfere in any manner whatever with the domestic affairs of the States. They are no enemies of the Princely Order, but, on the other hand, wish them and their people under this aegis all prosperity, contentment and happiness. Nor would it be my policy to conduct the relations of the new department with the States in any manner which savours of the domination of one over the other. If there would be any domination, it would be that of our mutual interest and welfare.

"We have no ulterior motive or selfish interests to serve. Our common objective should be to understand each other's point of view and come to decisions acceptable to all and in the best interests of the country. With this object, I propose to explore the possibility of associating with the administration of the new department a standing committee representative of both the States and British India.

"We are at a momentous stage in the history of India. By common endeavour, we can raise the country to a new greatness while lack of unity

will expose us to fresh calamities. I hope the Indian States will bear in mind that the alternative to co-operation in the general interest is anarchy and chaos which will overwhelm great and small in a common ruin if we are unable to get together in the minimum of common tasks. Let not the future generation curse us for having had the opportunity but failed to turn it to our mutual advantage. Instead, let it be our proud privilege to leave a legacy of mutually beneficial relationship which would raise this sacred land to its proper place amongst the nations of the world and turn it into an abode of peace and prosperity."—API

The Hindu

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ISBN 978-81-7229-666-7



9 788172 296667

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